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# THE American Catholic Sociological Review

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# AMERICAN CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW

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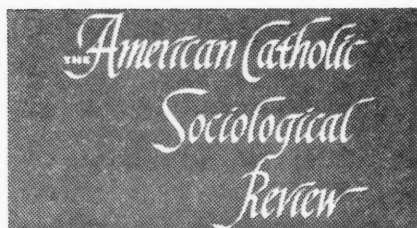
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# Penal Values in Canonical And Sociological Theory

DONALD N. BARRETT

The significance of punishment for maintaining order in social systems has never been underestimated in the sociological literature. Psychological research has blended readily with sociological work on the values of penalties. By illustration, rewards have presumably been proven to be generally more effective as sanctions than punishments.<sup>1</sup> "Progressive" and welfare movements in recent decades have extensively utilized such a principle, despite the fact that societies throughout history have stressed punishment. The penal emphasis is characterized today as an index of an earlier stage of mental and social evolution, an efflorescence of uncivilized peoples. Sociologists and criminologists have argued against legal and familial punishment by using humanitarian, scientific and deterministic principles. In the face of such arguments parents have continued to punish their children; legislators, judges and military men still consider penal methods effective in important instances, such as crime and war. Is this opposition between scientific interpretation and societal practice a cultural lag of behavior behind theory, or dangerous tampering by theorists with pragmatically proven norms? This analysis attempts a *constructive* attack on this problem by comparing an effective penal code, the law of the Catholic Church, with the functional theory of punishment as contained in some recent work on social systems.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Much of the psychological research on rewards and punishments has been done with animals. A good example of this may be found in W. K. Estes' "An Experimental Study of Punishment," *Psychological Monographs*, LVII, number 3, (1944).

<sup>2</sup> Several valuable sources in reference to the present problem are: T. Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951); H. Oppenheimer, *The Rationale of Punishment* (London: University of London Press, 1913); G. Rusche and O. Kirchheimer, *Punishment and Social Structure* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1939); N. S. Timasheff, *Introduction to the Sociology of Law* (Cambridge: University Committee on Research in the Social Sciences, 1939); H. von Hentig, *Punishment, Its Origin, Purpose and Psychology* (London: Hodge, 1937); J. F. Schulte, *Geschichte der Quellen u. Literatur des Canonischen Rechts von Gratian bis auf die Gegenwart* (Stuttgart: F. Enke, 1875-80, 3 volumes); J. Hollweck, *Die Kirchlichen Strafgesetze* (Mainz: Kirchheim, 1899); P. H. Jone, *Commentarium in Codicem Juris Canonici*, (Paderborn: F. Schöningh, 1955), III; I. A. Zeiger, *Historia Juris Canonici* (Romae: Gregorian University, 1947, 2 volumes).

At the outset we find that the terms "value" and "punishment" have often been used equivocally and thus the semantic confusion is found at the base of much of the discussion.<sup>3</sup> As Ward points out in his delightful volume, *Philosophy of Value*, action is for an end.<sup>4</sup> A minor premise may be added: But punishment is an action. The conclusion necessarily follows: Punishment is for an end. The significance of this syllogism consists in the fact that "end" and "value" may be considered equivalent in several substantial respects.

Although the meaning of value cannot be exhausted here, two major emphases may be briefly explored. First, the view is often expressed that values are purely subjective, or have only tangential relation to an object and thus are completely created by the valuing subject. Values thus become the "attachments of preferential interest" to selected parts of the environment.<sup>5</sup> Ralph Barton Perry takes this to its logical extreme, suggesting that values are supreme in explaining all action—and thus by a curious logic (and perhaps metaphysic) he proposes that in a democracy a two-thirds majority is, in effect, God.<sup>6</sup> The subjective viewpoint is somewhat differently indicated in Durkheim and Sumner who suggest that values are the basic social reality. For Durkheim society is made up of normative values, a reality *sui generis*.<sup>7</sup> The subjective view appears to lead to a mystique of value.

On the other hand the objective position on values may be stated in the conundrum: a value is *something* valued in a valuation relation to a valuing subject. For present purposes we may prescind from the various positions around this pole of definitions and positively suggest that: 1) abstractly value refers to

<sup>3</sup> At this moment symbolic logic has proven of little value on this question. Some recent work in axiomatic theory applied to punishment suggests the potential of this approach. See L. Gross, *Symposium on Sociological Theory* (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1959), chapter 17.

<sup>4</sup> Leo R. Ward, C.S.C., *The Philosophy of Value* (New York: MacMillan Company, 1930), p. 108.

<sup>5</sup> This is a common position taken by sociologists today. Often the subjectivity of values is developed with more subtlety, e.g. L. Broom and P. Selznik, *Sociology* (Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1958), p. 278. This appears to derive uncritically from generalizing the process of socialization to a universal metaphysic, as in the use of W. I. Thomas' "definition of the situation" in *The Unadjusted Girl* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1923), pp. 41-44.

<sup>6</sup> Ralph Barton Perry, "The Definition of Value", *Journal of Philosophy*, XI (March 1914), 154.

<sup>7</sup> Emile Durkheim, *Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (London: Allen, 1915), pp. 440-447.

the quality of desirability in an object, and 2) concretely value refers to an object recognized as desirable by a subject.<sup>8</sup> Thus value refers to goodness in an object in relation to a valuing subject.<sup>9</sup> God may be said to desire all objects in so far as He creates and establishes their ends and order among themselves. Thus all objects are good and value-ful. But man has no such universal desire except in general natural appetency. Psychologically he is limited in his acts of choice and thus his valuing of objects tends to be segmental and selectively developed, especially in its systemizing and universalizing operations. Consequently objects which are good and of value in the ordering of God may become disordered values in the behavior of men. Objects metaphysically good in themselves may be the main-springs for moral evil. In this sense men may value what is metaphysically good, but do so in a disordered, morally non-valuable way. Such disordered values are nonetheless explanatory of behavior in sociological analysis. Yet without the objective base of goodness in all values, there is no criterion for assessing non-valuable social problems and issues.<sup>10</sup>

Like the science of biology in which no thoroughly adequate definition of life has been broadly developed, sociology finds the term, punishment, a perplexing issue. By use of the device of synecdoche punishment refers to the penalty inflicted upon an offender. But generically punishment signifies the act of inflicting pain or suffering for crime or fault.<sup>11</sup> The antonym of punishment is reward. These constitute sanctions.<sup>12</sup>

With the terms, value and punishment, now at least verbally defined, we may phrase the central problem at issue here as

<sup>8</sup> Paul H. Furfey, *The Scope and Method of Sociology* (New York: Harper, 1953), pp. 87-91.

<sup>9</sup> Thomas Aquinas, *Summa Theologiae*, I, q.5, a.1, corp. and *In Nich. Eth.*, lect. 1, nn. 9-11.

<sup>10</sup> Without some objective criterion all pure and applied analysis becomes relativistic. If problems are defined only as relative to individual or group values, the arbitrariness of the value-preference promotes a disjunction between analysis and behavior which is unbridgeable and inconsistent. The sociological theorist often implicitly assumes group equilibrium as a criterion of value judgment in analysis, but how can this or even a "moving equilibrium" be justified in itself? Law systems are preeminently concerned with this issue and thus the sociology of law must face this value problem. See N. S. Timasheff, *op. cit.*, passim.

<sup>11</sup> E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, rev. by D. R. Cressey (New York: J. P. Lippincott, 1955), p. 256.

<sup>12</sup> In itself punishment cannot be limited to pain-producing actions which are directly observable, for psychic pain is "too much with us", e.g. feelings of guilt, uncertainty in desired friendship relations, and restricting conditions for the parolee.

follows: Are the ecclesiastical and sociological theories on the values of punishment congruent? The focus in this analysis is directed to the penalizing provisions of the two categories of theoretical systems, the one, the ecclesiastical social system of the Catholic Church which is elaborated in Canon Law, the other, the sociological conceptualizations of social systems which are more or less perfect, i.e. a system which endures beyond the life span of the individual participant and which has the necessary means for attainment of its ends.<sup>13</sup>

#### PUNISHMENT IN CANON LAW

Compared to the many centuries of distinguished canon lawyers, sociologists are upstarts in the analysis of punishment. There are saving graces, however, in that many of the theoretical problems in Canon Law have not been solved,<sup>14</sup> nor has Canon Law been insensitive to the burgeoning interest by sociological scholars in penal thought.<sup>15</sup> The place of punishment in the social system of the Church finds its clearest expression in Canon Law, for as it is well known, this code may be rightly looked upon as the constitution of the Church. This becomes evident in Bachofen's description of Canon Law: "the complex rules which direct the *exterior* order of the Church to its proper end."<sup>16</sup> In interpreting the Code we find that laws without penalty are called

<sup>13</sup> To aid adequate conceptualization the reader may imagine the system of any community, such as a modern city or a Hopi village. Also two strong cautions must be added here: 1) this analysis focuses upon theoretical, not applied issues; and 2) the two systems are on different levels of abstraction, i.e. Canon Law theory depicts an ethical ideal, whereas social-system theory consists in existential analysis.

<sup>14</sup> Pope Pius XII in two discourses (Oct. 3, 1953 and Dec. 5, 1954) upheld the use of vindictive (retributory) ecclesiastical penalties, but also suggested "that perhaps the considerations and arguments adduced as proof were being given greater importance and force than they have in fact." A probing and critical analysis of retribution may be found in "Punishment for Crime" by Michael Connelly in *Studies*, XLVI (Winter, 1957), 467-478. Archbishop Cicognani notes that vindictive penalties are few and rarely exercised in "Aequitas Canonica in Salutem Animarum", IX, *The Jurist*, number 1, (January, 1959), 6.

<sup>15</sup> See, for example, C. A. Bachofen, *A Commentary on the New Code of Canon Law* (St. Louis: B. Herder, 1924), VIII, 1-4. Bachofen suggests that the ecclesiastical system tends to be in accord with the classical school of criminology.

<sup>16</sup> C. A. Bachofen, *op. cit.*, I, 2. The laws have accumulated since Apostolic times and are found in a number of kinds of sources: Holy Writ, decrees of the Pontiffs, canons of the councils and unwritten laws. The New Code was published under Pope Benedict XV in 1917 and all laws before it are defined as abrogated unless specific provision is made for exceptions (can.6). English translations of the canons may be found in a variety of sources, such as T. L. Bouscaren and A. C. Ellis, *Canon Law, A Text and Commentary* (Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Company, 1951).

laws "minus quam perfectae" and thus we can note the importance of punishment.<sup>17</sup>

It is not our design to amass detail here, but special note must be taken that Church penalties are by no means restricted to "internal forum" operations. Among *medicinal penalties*, designed primarily to aid reform of the offender, are included excommunication and interdict by virtue of which social interaction may be seriously curtailed.<sup>18</sup> *Vindictive penalties*, designed primarily to restore the order of justice, include personal and local interdict (permanent or temporary), infamy, fines and the privation of Church burial, sacraments, church entrance, honors, insignia and the like.<sup>19</sup> Since the Council of Trent and the decline of the civil jurisdiction of the Church, the trend has been toward the Church's voluntary limitation of its external punishments to offenses of a scandalous nature.<sup>20</sup> The Church still affirms, however, that it is a perfect society and thus it must rationalize the values of punishments now lodged in the Sacred Congregation and Sacred Tribunal.<sup>21</sup>

Canon Law defines an *offense* as "the external and morally imputable violation of the law to which is added a canonical sanction at least indeterminate" (can. 2195). Although the power of

<sup>17</sup> The old Roman juriconsults used this phrase and it is applicable in interpreting the code, for there are laws with punishments (*leges perfectae*) and nullifying laws, i.e. rendering acts contrary thereto null and void (*leges plus quam perfectae*); see canons 11 and 15. All rules contained in the Code apply only to those baptized, alive, capable of reasoning and within the jurisdiction of the Church.

<sup>18</sup> Excommunication may make a person "vitandus", i.e. someone to be avoided by good Catholics despite previous friendship or other condition. Interdict may place a person or place "out of bounds" for an offender.

<sup>19</sup> The Church has claimed and still claims temporal power of control over its subjects (voluntary subjection) to achieve its ends. Pope John XII explicitly claimed for the Church the power of temporal punishment. Pope Benedict XIV condemned a book which denied temporal penalties to the Church. Apostolic times witnessed observable temporal penalties assessed on offenders. Fustigation (cudgeling) as penalty for sacrilegious thieves was assigned from the time of Augustine of Hippo to Augustine of Canterbury. Pope Leo XIII in his famed *Immortale Dei* encyclical expressly states that the Church has the power to make laws, judge and punish both temporally and corporally. A brief treatise on this may be found in the *Dictionnaire de theologie catholique* XII part 1, (Paris: Librairie Letouzey et Aue, 1933), "peines ecclesiastiques" pp. 623-659.

<sup>20</sup> Bachofen rather laconically remarks: "... some penalties formerly employed, even against clerics, such as branding, bodily chastisement, exile, imprisonment . . . are not mentioned in the Code", *op. cit.*, VIII, 68. Also see Hollweck, *op. cit.*, p. 154 seq.

<sup>21</sup> The Church is a perfect society in that 1) it is autonomous and has sovereign power, 2) it has a specified end, the kingdom of heaven, begun on earth, and 3) it has the necessary means to achieve this end, the magisterium, imperium, ministerium.



the keys extends to the external and internal fora, the code here refers primarily to the external order.<sup>22</sup> Especially notable here are: 1) the close approximation of ecclesiastical and civil law conceptualizations of an offense, 2) the clear autonomy and sovereignty of the Church implied in this definition, 3) the recognition of mitigating circumstances and guiltless actions, e.g. through mental defect or insanity, and 4) the vital role of punishments whether determinate or indeterminate.<sup>23</sup> Ecclesiastical *punishment* finds clear expression as: "the privation of some good, inflicted by legitimate authority, for the correction of the offender and the punishment of the offense" (can. 2215). Like the sociological definition of punishment this delineation does not admit the tautology of the often repeated civil notion of punishment, the totality of legal consequences of a conviction for crime. In the fashion of our own common law the conviction of crime in Canon Law does not require an examination of the offender's antecedent motives. Intention suffices. In far broader degree, however, the Code insists on fitting the punishment to the offender and offense as closely as the entire circumstances warrant (can. 2218 and 2291).<sup>24</sup> To accomplish this some theory must exist 1) as to the causes of delicts, and thereby 2) as to the efficacy of punishments.

The basic cause of crime consists in responsible choices or decisions by the offender. Imputability thereby depends on two essential conditions of the offender: a) the deliberate or malicious willing (*dolus*), and b) guilt (*culpa*). The deliberate will of transgressing the law is presumed until the contrary is proven, if the fact of violation of law is certain. Consequently for any punishable act there are required: *knowledge* that what the offender is doing is criminal, and *will* or the power of volition, i.e. the offender must be able to abstain from doing the act. If either condition fails, immunity from punishment will arise. The legal maxim, namely, "ignorance of fact, not of law, excuses", of

<sup>22</sup> Matters of sin and conscience are considered internal and generally come under the operations of the Sacred Penitentiary if official action is required.

<sup>23</sup> Some crimes, such as apostasy, are purely ecclesiastical in most countries. Others are purely civil, such as evading taxes. In the third category we have "mixed" crimes, such as those against life, morals and property. The last may be prosecuted by both civil and ecclesiastical authority. There is an additional rule, however, which affirms that laymen, when duly prosecuted by the civil, should not be prosecuted by Church authority (can. 1933).

<sup>24</sup> Hollweck, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

course, obtains.<sup>25</sup> The degree of *dolus* serves to delineate the degrees of responsibility in the choice and consequently the degrees of punishment. On this question many canons specify the influence of such items as ignorance, drunkenness, carelessness, mental weakness, impetuous passions, grave fear, age, aggravating circumstances, violence, accomplices (can. 2201-2211). *Culpa*, as distinguished from *dolus*, may arise from ignorance or carelessness. Ignorance here does not refer to absence of all knowledge, but properly to absence of knowledge that is morally imputable to a free agent. Such ignorance renders a person immune to punishment if he used "ordinary means proportionate to the matter and person who has to employ these means." In contrast culpable ignorance diminishes the degree of imputability only in proportion to the obligations one is under of acquiring the necessary knowledge.<sup>26</sup> Affected or purposive and crass ignorance, due to carelessness or indolence, as further categories, show that the canonical theory of delicts admits of numerous degrees of responsibility, and punishments are apportioned accordingly.

Beyond this explanation of criminal acts and serving as a foundation for canonical judgment, at least three basic explanatory principles must be understood. *First*, belief in man's "fallen nature" implies his fundamental inclination to evil resulting from original sin. The implication of this suggests that if there were full understanding and appreciation of the heinousness of evil and crime, none would be committed. *Second*, antecedent to the strictly legal understandings of crime is the belief that forces beyond the observable social system operate to influence human understanding and choice. In brief, these influences consist in graces (helps) for good from God and temptations from evil non-empirical entities making impression on man's responsible choices. Beliefs in and appreciation of these forces and also in the non-observable ends of heaven and hell, the ultimate reward and punishment, serve to give depth to understanding of the sensitivity and occasional severity of canonical judgments. *Ultimately*, of course, the belief that God in the person of Christ has given the Church the imperium, magisterium and ministerium to lead all men to salvation, not only explains the social existence of the Church, its laws and authoritative operations, but also ra-

<sup>25</sup> Cf. *Reg. Juris*, 23, in sexto. This is a very ancient rule in Canon Law.

<sup>26</sup> P. Hinschius, *Das Kirchenrecht der Katholiken und Protestanten im Deutschland* (Berlin: I. Guttentag, 1888), IV, 747 seq.



tionalizes its members acceptance of specific definitions of delicts as well as their responsibility in transgressing its laws. In so far as these beliefs enter into the cognitive, affective and evaluative operations of actors in the Church's social system, they become important in explaining canonically criminal actions and thus also are sociologically relevant.<sup>27</sup>

These beliefs enter into the theoretical values of punishment in important ways. Due to the fact that punishments may become arbitrary, the Code includes the guiding purposes with the basic definition. It is notable that the reformatory value of punishment is emphasized first and it can readily be affirmed that this is the main value of ecclesiastical punishments, owing to the nature of the Church as an institution for saving souls. Further evidence for this is suggested in the fact that reformatory or medicinal penalties are by no means the most lenient ones and are assessed for some of the most serious crimes. The principal aim of such punishments is the amending of the delinquent, i.e. the breaking of contumacy or stubbornness, so that if this purpose is achieved the penalty is removed (can. 2241 and 2248). These censures, then, are not inflicted for crimes which have no reference to the future, or, once committed, have no further consequences. Deterrent and expiatory values attach to these penalties, but in so far as they deprive the delinquent of certain goods, which have temporal consequences, as in the cases of personal interdict or excommunication for bigamy (can. 2356), reformation is primary.

Besides reformation, canonical punishment has a second value, "the punishment of the offense." This doctrine, not of revenge (a private *reposte*), but of retribution, atonement and expiation, points to the restoration of the public order of justice. It has become distasteful to many modern writers due to the derogatory connotations of retribution in western culture. The apparently synonymous uses of vengeance, retribution, atonement and expiation occur frequently in canonical and criminological sources. It may well be argued that much of the polemic and confusion is attributable to semantic issues. The expiatory emphasis of the Code insists on the reparation of the violated public order, rather than a Kantian retributive imperative. This

<sup>27</sup> In such areas as these sets of beliefs, which are vital in understanding canonical theory, the non-Catholic sociologist would have difficulty. The necessity for, or even the desirability of dispassionate "objectivity" in the sociology of religion might on this and other grounds be questioned.

emphasis cannot be questioned today since most agree that what is stolen should be repaid, that personal injury should be repaired as much as possible. The expiatory of "vindictive" penalties, as they are technically termed, range from interdict through many gradations to fines and detention in houses of correction.<sup>28</sup> Since these penalties are restorative of justice, their relaxation does not depend on the mere cessation of contumacy, for the evil consequences of crime involve public disorder and this must be repaired. Such punishment may be considered a mechanism by which the offender is coerced to face the reality of his crime and its effects. By this means a balance-wheel is established to prevent over-sentimentalizing of all penal sanctions.

Although deterrence, the third value of punishment, does not find specific mention in the general norms of the Code, almost all commentators thereon deduce this from the canons.<sup>29</sup> In remarkable counterpoint with the explicit reformatory and expiatory values of canonical penalties another category is added to ensure prevention and deterrence. "Penal remedies" are basically preventive and include official warnings, rebuke (public or private), precept, order or injunction, and as the severest penal remedy, surveillance or vigilance.<sup>30</sup>

In conclusion to our truncated analysis of the canonical system two additional principles must be mentioned. First, a specific canon insists on a proportion between penalty and crime, but this according to the double standard of its imputability and the scandal and damage caused (can. 2218).<sup>31</sup> The *objective* standard makes no naive pretense that there can be an exact equivalence in all categories, such as Beccaria seemed to believe, but it requires the judge to take public order and safety as a basis for action. Some penalties are *latae sententiae*, i.e. attached by law

<sup>28</sup> Fines are also expiatory punishments and are used to penalize ecclesiastical judges, lawyers, procurators, alienators, copyists and those who overcharge in demanding taxes. See canons 395, 413, 1625, 1666, 2347, 2406 and 2408. By law these fines must be used for charitable purposes and never to enrich the episcopal or capitulary fund.

<sup>29</sup> F. Noldin, S.J. in his *De Poenis Ecclesiasticis* (Rome: F. Rauch, 1921) says: "cominationis finis" of ecclesiastical punishments is "to urge subjects to abstain from violation of the law and from fear of punishment to observe it", p. 1.

<sup>30</sup> Canons 2306-2311. Vigilance or special supervision is imposed on layman or cleric, especially if he is exposed to the danger of relapse into serious crime or if he is a recidivist.

<sup>31</sup> There is implicit recognition here of the futility of strict apportionment of penalty to offense, as Gabriel Tarde recognized so clearly in his *Penal Philosophy* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1912), p. 12.

to the commission of crime and become binding as soon as the crime is committed, e.g. excommunication of a person who lays violent hands on clerics or religious (can. 2343);<sup>32</sup> others are *ferendae sententiae*, i.e. require specific judicial decision. Some penalties are fixed and definite (determinate) whereas others are left to the prudent discretion of the judge (indeterminate). The subjective proportion of penalty to offense requires the judge to weigh not only the objective importance of the law and the objective grievousness of the offense in determining the penalty, but also the offender's age, knowledge, education, sex, profession, mental status, dignity of offender and offended, the time, place and purpose of the offense (can. 2218).

Our second concluding principle refers to the rules of interpretation of penalties. Consistent with the primary values of punishment outlined above, the Code specifically states: "in punishment the more favorable interpretation should be adopted" (can. 2219). Of course, if the penalty is clearly stated in law and if the crime and responsibility for it ascertained, the punishment must follow. But in dubious cases, or those involving disjunctive penalties (either-or) and especially when the measure of punishment is left to the discretion of the judge, he is encouraged to inflict less punishment, so long as public order and the offender's emendation can be achieved.<sup>33</sup> This rule is of ancient origin and long in practice. The opportunities for appeals to other courts and for official suspension, mitigation and delay of penalties and the many canonical cautions against hasty use of severe penalty, all strengthen this view. Bachofen generalizes further by saying that one may

sum up the purpose of ecclesiastical law as follows: it is reformatory in its main tendency, owing to the nature of the Church as an institution for saving souls, but it is also expiatory, preventive or deterring, in order to preserve divine and human laws, to keep public order intact and to show forth the true nature of crime to the guilty as well as the innocent. A society founded by God cannot dispense with these elements of genuine criminal law.<sup>34</sup>

<sup>32</sup> Today a declatory sentence in most cases is required.

<sup>33</sup> Since this is found in Rule 49 in *Sexto*, it may be averred that the principle is at least 700 years old in canon law.

<sup>34</sup> *Op Cit.*, VIII, 68-69.

## PUNISHMENT IN SOCIAL-SYSTEM THEORY

Whereas Canon Law is made up of ethical imperatives, functional social-system analysis is composed of interlocking propositions explaining the structure and functions of observable social groups. Analysis of social systems often conceives of punishment as a means of social control. Effective social control, however, must operate on a theory of what constitutes disorganization in the society, for otherwise the control mechanism of punishment becomes arbitrary, inconsistent, and destructive of social predictability and organization. Without attempting an elaborate conceptualization we may characterize the process of disorganization as arising in the deviations from the role-expectation matrix of the social system. In this light deviant patterns, to which punishment is but one reaction, may be considered crucial in the study of an effective system of sanctions.

The work on social systems visualizes such a system as a stable interactive process involving personalities which are sensitive to the attitudes (role-expectations) and values of each other.<sup>35</sup> Due to the manifold uniqueness of each participating member's understanding, appreciation and value-set in the social system, which requires only a limited number of commonalities, it becomes almost inevitable that some of ego's expectations will not be fulfilled. Consequent upon this frustration and strain, a need for adjustment, creative and/or conforming, results. Since ego must seek to resolve the strain through a learning process, he must select from among the limited number of alternatives open to him. In certain societies these alternatives are fewer than in others—to such a degree that he may never consciously consider some possibilities. His own capacities for social perception may also limit these alternatives. Generally, however, he may 1) renounce or seek to redefine the value pattern prescribing the role segment, 2) transfer his expectations to others, 3) inhibit his needs-dispositions (which are no longer satisfied) in this sector of his role-set by some defense mechanism, such as

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<sup>35</sup> The design of this analysis is to work from the Parsonian model as manifested in such work in the last several years, and place it on grounds amenable to comparison with the canonical model. Of particular help for this purpose are A. Cohen's *Juvenile Delinquency and the Social Structure* (Ph.D. dissertation, Cambridge: Harvard University, 1951); W. F. Whyte's *Street Corner Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943); M. J. Levy, *The Structure of Society* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952); T. Parsons' *The Social System* (Glencoe: The Free Press, 1951), especially chapters VII and VIII.

compensation or regression. More probably, however, a compromise solution will be sought, thus permitting the partial gratification of both sides of his needs in the situation, i.e., approval of others and expectation satisfaction. Resulting from compromise, ambivalence develops and also, assuming no indifference to the issue, resentment arises latently because some parts of his needs have to be sacrificed. Individuals appear to be able to tolerate and manage varying amounts of such ambivalence and resentment, but the presence suggests that the problem in the role-set is only alleviated, not resolved by compromise. The social insecurity of ambivalence encourages greater demands by ego and less flexibility in his relationships. This creates greater dangers and probabilities of others not meeting his expectations. This cumulative propensity to deviation depicts the well-known vicious circle of the genesis of deviant behavior. Such a process could, *pari-passu*, be delineated in the case of ego's expectation of reward for observance of established norms—or his frustration at not receiving rewards and thus the circle of deviancy begins, e.g., the norm, work hard (and you will succeed), is often seen to fail in its prediction of reward.

This capsulated formulation of the generic process of deviation is of crucial significance to the problem of social control, since the attainment or deprivation of the approval of others may be considered ego's most immediate sanctioning mechanisms. These mechanisms motivate to conformity with normative patterns, be they predicated on the tenets of political reality, as in crime, or of divinely inspired principles, as in sin. Participation in large social systems requires long and delicate socialization, delaying gratifications and strength in sustaining some disapproval of others. The impersonality of a complex, generalized legal system also suggests inherent weakness for influencing a person who has been socialized in the personal systems (with personal sanctions) of the family, peer group, etc. The problem of conformity is further complicated since the possibility of a conflict of rules is characteristic of these systems of generalized norms. This occurs because generality implies abstractness and this means that one rule does not by itself cover each specific case, since the case will inevitably show a variety of aspects. This indeterminacy encourages an attitude toward "having your cake and eating it," i.e. acting in a way gratifying to self and against the norms—with the hope that the norm will be interpreted in favor of the self.

Further, it becomes evident that deviant behavior may well be developed 1) when others in one's person relational system are ambivalent or opposed to conformity to the normative pattern of the larger group, or 2) when unduly drastic penalties deny the person any opportunity to release his tensions or strains with approval. Thus the phenomena of ganging and stigmatizing the convict (or penitent) reinforce the deviant trend, a process similar to the "secondary gain" among neurotics and alcoholics. In such cases an emotional investment in deviant patterns is quickly developed by the actor, whereas penalizing agencies often see no recourse than to continue the alienation cycle by further punishment. Coercive sanctions, it is true, can operate to prevent ego from externally revealing his needs—dispositions, but they certainly have no necessary changing effect on such deviant tendencies.

If the above suggests some of the elements in the process of deviation, then the question arises: how does punishment have value in counteracting deviation? Constructively, one may say that any mechanism of social control must become embodied in attitudes. Sanctions, whether rewards or penalties, may focus on redirecting incipient tendencies or on breaking into the vicious circle of deviation, or both. What is imperative is to influence the balance of forces which build up and counteract motivation to deviation. More specifically, what Beccaria insisted upon as necessary qualities of penal sanctions, namely their immediacy and certainty, afford a fruitful direction in the application of both rewarding and punitive sanctions.<sup>36</sup> The question of *certainty* of sanctions is comparably related to the deviation encouraged by the uncertainty as to what the normative pattern requires, or what an ambivalent alter expects. The *immediacy* of sanctions suggests their contiguity in *time* to the offense and also (what Beccaria did not see) their *meaningfulness* to the actor. The latter refers to the depth and value of a social relation to a person, thereby pointing to differences of influence when sanctions affect more or less important values in the offender, e.g., banishing a "drifter" from the city (imposed by many city courts) may have far less meaning than banishing a mayor. Also it seems clear that sanctions applied by an impersonal or alienating judge

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<sup>36</sup> *Dei delitti e delle pene* (Munich: Gotte, 1766), first published in 1764. The tremendous impact of this little volume cannot be understood without an adequate appreciation of his times, courage and genius.



will generally have less constructive influence than by a friend, caseworker or relative.

The strains and ambivalence of compromise or of making choices toward alienation from a normative pattern (contrary to some needs-dispositions) are the very phenomena which can make sanctions effective. A set of sanctions, carefully studied and weighted to influence the balance of motives and attitudes toward conformity with a value pattern, can both reward the individual by reducing strain and ambivalence, and also alienate him from non-conforming patterns. Like all learning processes, however, the internalization of such attitudes into a role-expectation system requires *time*, *consistency* and *persistence*. An inconsistent, over-excusing and sporadic application of sanctions of short duration, will probably not influence expectations which are the product of life-integrated learning.

At the same time effective sanctions must influence the legitimacy appeal of deviant behavior by clearly defining the normally legitimate expectations and undermining the justifications of the sub-culture, e.g. the gang. This process clearly suggests that social control must ultimately be the process of *self-control* and self-justification within the normative limits of the total social system. Social control, then, is the obverse of social deviation. Recourse to simple compulsion, or appeal to rational decision through coercion can now be readily seen as over-simplified and overly presumptive methods for effecting change in motivational and attitudinal sets.

From the analysis presented here it seems clear that sanctions must manipulate values which are significant to the offender, e.g. approval - disapproval, esteem - derogation, love - fear - trust, etc. Since ego achieves gratification in situations of approval, esteem and love of those with whom he is in interpersonal (valued) relationship, these forces must be delicately balanced to direct the deviant toward patterns permitted by the system's norms. At the same time the hostility, anxiety and defensiveness of the deviant cannot be reciprocated, for then the vicious circle of deviancy will be perpetuated. Thus, some *support* must be given to reduce his strain, anxiety and insecurity (not support of deviancy, however). Also a certain *tolerance* or indulgence for a few failures at re-socialization must be evidenced, for changes take time and commonly involve some false steps. Finally *professional exaction* of sanctions may be necessary for effective

sanctions—with the concomitant prestige of function, an approximation of a one-to-one relation, and a more objective and realistic application than friendship or impersonality would permit. From this it follows that over-simplified and single approaches to deviation, e.g., by punishment alone, must be rejected. Punishment joined with reward, however, can probably be far more effective than punishment or reward alone, if applied with understanding and discretion.

#### CONGRUENCE AND DIVERGENCE

Comparison of canonical theory with social-system theory yields remarkable congruence in countless important respects. Overall agreement is found in the principle that a constructive approach to deviation or criminal behavior must focus on molding attitudes and motivations toward conformity within normatively defined limits. In comparison with most other penal systems, it may be added, Canon Law sets up far more extensive procedures for "reaching into" the offender, especially through the application of sanctions. Certain legal systems deliberately abstain from deep study of motivation, attitude and value sets, on the principle that it constitutes an invasion of individuality, or that such factors are immaterial to the issue. In the application of sanctions, however, success can often be obtained only through understanding and affecting these inner dynamics, each in different constellations in individual offenders.<sup>37</sup> The agreement of the canonical and social-system models, then, becomes notable.

The congruence of the two systems, despite their different purposes, does not stop at this general level. To suggest some of the more specific agreements we may *first* note the emphasis on reward and punishment in both. The rewards in both systems consist in such desired items as love, esteem and approval in valued relationships. Of more than passing interest we see that the punishments delineated in the two systems are precisely contrary to the rewards. The Code carries a set of interpretive principles pointing to rewards throughout the broad institu-

<sup>37</sup> Attempts to provide all-encompassing penal theories of a philosophical or sociological nature, without specifying intervening variables, have resulted in a great "disconnectedness" between theory and behavior. Critics of the socio-psychological emphasis on motivations and attitudes must face this issue. Several theorists in the field of criminology have recognized this. Cf. D. Glaser, "Criminality Theories and Behavioral Images", *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXVI (March 1956), 433-444.



tional complex e.g. membership in the Mystical Body, participation and communication with other members, security in a life with meaning beyond immediate gratification. Punishments specified in most legal systems do not manifest the balance of contraries between reward and punishment as is found in the two systems under consideration. Imprisonment by its very nature cannot adequately balance the rewards sought by the arsonist, the prostitute, the burglar. The agreement of the two systems, then, suggests that punishments are not ends in themselves, but directives to positive action and reward.<sup>38</sup>

*Second*, the certainty and immediacy of effective sanctions are stressed in both systems. The Code provides for penalties *latae sententiae*; conscience and the sense of guilt in a member of the Church are stressed; the ever recurrent threat of hell, the ultimate punishment, and the recognition that God demands justice as well as love make the Code's sanctions certain. The immediacy in meaning of such sanctions is guaranteed by the voluntary character of memberships in the Church and the necessary submission thereby to its laws.

*Third*, the penal value of direction toward self-control in order to achieve social control has many canonical expressions. Thus medicinal penalties may be absolved at the cessation of contumacy. The extensive criteria for apportioning penalty to offender and offense manifest the Code's long-term encouragement of self-control. The characteristic that sanctions should not reciprocate the hostility of the offender has been part of the canonical system since Apostolic times.<sup>39</sup> The end of the Church is the salvation of souls and thus the Code makes every attempt to forestall the offender in further deviancy and keep him, by delicate balancing of sanctions, within range of contact and communication. The broad powers of judges, who are urged to use the "benignior" interpretation of penalties, are designed to encourage self-control in the offender within the normative limits of the law.

<sup>38</sup> Cressey has elaborated a prospectus for research on punishment but appears to assume that it can be studied independently of reward. D. R. Cressey, "Hypotheses in the Sociology of Punishment", *Sociology and Social Research*, XXXIX (July-August 1955), 394-400. This is also characteristic of Sorokin's masterful analysis of punishment and social change in *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, (New York: American Book Company, 1937), II, chapter 15.

<sup>39</sup> When St. Paul punished an incestuous couple severely with visible consequences, the text clearly suggests that this was not done in absolute wrath or unbridgeable sternness.

The congruence of canonical and social-system theory thus far seems abundantly clear, but their agreement on the traditional, over-arching values of punishment bears some further analysis. Due to the clear orientations in both systems toward the reformatory value, there is little dispute on this point. Functional analysis of social systems by definition assumes at least some interdependence of parts and total system for equilibrium and thus, it should be no surprise that re-equilibrating values are stressed. The personality and socio-psychological emphasis in some current social-system theory compels the giving of prominent place to reformatory and preventive values in considering punishment. The Code stresses similar values in its ethical imperatives. Many state systems, however, manifest weakness at two points: 1) little discrimination is made between rehabilitation, an accommodating process which may be basically fraudulent, and reformation, and assimilating process which is far more predictive of future behavior; 2) little trust and responsibility are given judges for discretionary apportionment of penalties to offenses and offenders—the schedule of punishments is determined by men far removed in time and distance from the unique circumstances of a given offense.<sup>40</sup>

The deterrent or preventive value of punishment has some ambiguous facets. Canonical and social-system theory claim deterrence as a penal value, but certain problems connected with this value are not fully answered. At least one nub of the issue may be expressed in the distinction that 1) punishment may deter citizens by reason of its threat, and 2) it may deter by showing that the penalty inflicted in a known case could be inflicted on them. This is not pure subtlety.<sup>41</sup> The latter instance involves the use of a *person* (undergoing punishment) as a *means* and on this ground deterrence has been rejected by Kant and many liberals in western society. The dilemma of deterrence becomes apparent—how deter by threat, if punishment is not carried out by example. Also empirical checking of this value reveals that 1) the actual processes of law and executions of penalties are commonly unknown to the majority of a community,

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<sup>40</sup> The Indiana Code, for example, gives little discretionary power to judges, yet the state constitution specifies that "the penal code shall be founded on principles of reformation and not of vindictive justice" (Indiana Constitution, article 1, section 8).

<sup>41</sup> By illustration, some Latin-American codes threaten severe punishment, but rarely are such threats carried out.

2) the punishment schedule for crimes is simply unknown to most citizens, 3) murderers and other serious offenders show that when they were cognizant of penalties, this merely urged caution rather than desistance, 4) offenders are all too often handicapped by poverty, ignorance and notorious shortsightedness, and 5) man does not live by fear alone, for there are on occasion stronger motives, e.g. to avoid ridicule of one's peers, to love forbidden items, to crave excitement.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps, if punishments were surely, quickly, uniformly, publicly and severely inflicted, they would prevent many crimes. But this is precisely the point—we effectively do not wish it this way for fear of tyranny and from distaste of observing our imposed harshness. Caldwell even says that real deterrence is impossible, for our impersonal society, scientific attitudes and humanitarianism render it so.<sup>43</sup> For similar reasons Oppenheimer seriously questions the value of the utilitarian-born notion of deterrence.<sup>44</sup> In large part the value of deterrence is unproven. The apparent ambiguity of deterrence in Canon Law and social-system theories may be clarified on the premise that persons will refrain from actions if such actions cause loss of friendship or make an enemy in a valued relation. The question arises, however, how are we to find such valued relations in a mass society, characterized by great depersonalization?

The retributory or expiatory value of punishment finds little explicit mention in social-system theory, although it maintains a prominent place in canonical theory. Functional analysis, which assumes the importance of equilibrium, would seem logically compelled to stress the retributory value, the restoration of order. Some explanation for its absence may be found in the socio-psychological emphasis among some theorists, or the tradition of rejecting retribution as vengeful, non-scientific and religiously biased. Unfortunately, perhaps, retribution has been defined in several unpalatable ways. Kant has suggested that retribution is a non-rational force in man, a categorical impera-

<sup>42</sup> Clearly the victory of such motivations are found in the studies by Shaw, Whyte and more recently Cohen and Bloch.

<sup>43</sup> R. G. Caldwell, *Criminology* (New York: The Ronald Press, 1956), p. 403. The impossibility of real deterrence is also based on the recognition that criminal detection, apprehension, prosecution, conviction and punishment constitute both a human process, with its errors and frailties, and also a social process within which there are many opportunities to escape.

<sup>44</sup> H. Oppenheimer, *op. cit.*, Part II, chapter 1.

tive.<sup>45</sup> Maritain has recently proposed a somewhat similar position, retributive justice being derived from a natural inclination in the "pre-conscious reason."<sup>46</sup> This is a far cry from Tarde's view that retributive inclinations arise from socialization in the family. Hegel presents a logically tight, but existentially irrelevant argument: the citizen as a citizen subscribes to the penal law; by crime he negates this law; what is necessary is a negation of this negation to rectify order and this is retributive punishment.<sup>47</sup> Some scholastics appear to favor the last line of reasoning in order to have a reasonable foundation for the punishments of hell and other retributory penalties. It may be proposed that expiation, making satisfaction for damage done, sufficiently expresses the currently intelligible and acceptable notion of retribution. This "paying back" is taught to children in countless small ways. Reinforcement of such elementary notions of justice are continued in every person's socialization throughout life. Consequently expiation finds reasonable place in all canonical and social-system theories on punishment.

It has become evident that a comparison of the two systems has yielded far more agreement on major points than disagreement. It is equally clear, however, that the translation of philosophical or religious principles into empirical policy or directly into sociological theory has led to confusion in conceptualization and false alignments of "schools." Conversely the swift intrusion by sociologists into the great issues of religion and philosophy can only lead to confusion. At this point the dictum of Blackstone may be relevant: sciences (and scientists) are of a sociable disposition and flourish best in the neighborhood of each other. This may be particularly true in analyzing systems of punishment.

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<sup>45</sup> Immanuel Kant, *Metaphysische Anfangsgründe der Rechtslehre*, (Königsberg: F. Nicolovius, 1797), pp. 195-206. Immanuel Kant may be more reasonable than some critics allow.

<sup>46</sup> J. Maritain, *Neuf Leçons sur la philosophie morale* (Paris, P. Tequi, 1949).

<sup>47</sup> The argument is contained in the work by E. Gans, *Grundlinien der Philosophie des Rechts*, (3rd ed.; Berlin: Mauer, 1854), Sections 82 seq.

# The Research Laboratory In A Small College

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## RESEARCH PROGRAM IN A SMALL COLLEGE

The anthracite region of Pennsylvania was the first *locus* for the undergraduate research plans described in this paper. Inspiration for the inauguration of the program derived from a need to know community conditions in order to illuminate class instruction in Sociology. Courses taken at the School of Social Work at Catholic University helped in determining what topics were to be studied, most of them being concerned with facets of the work of social agencies.

The scene changed to Philadelphia during the second World War. Community Research in a metropolitan area loomed formidable in contrast with the seemingly easier studies of a small city. Enrollment soared after the war and the number of men choosing Sociology as a major warranted a social research "attack" on the City of Brotherly Love.

Study of the Community continued to be the emphasis until 1956 when the course title was changed to Introduction to Social Research. Then the first study of a city-wide problem was undertaken; a team of five students undertook to study the effectiveness of Philadelphia's Curfew Law.

The course in research methods was introduced only after experience with projects supplementing the course in social problems. For example, as a project in the problems course, three men successfully completed spot-maps of juvenile delinquency. Studies resulting from volunteer work in social agencies added impetus to the transition from incidental project to credit course.

The stated aims of the research course may seem to be ideals rather than realities, but a serious effort is made to realize these goals as nearly as possible. The aims are:

1. To provide elementary training in social research for talented students.

2. To help prepare qualified students for graduate school research.
3. To impress students who terminate their formal education in College with the value of research, how to make use of it, and to respect those engaged in this work.
4. To relate social theory to social reality.
5. To assist potential leaders in the identification of community welfare needs.

Presumption and pretense are precluded with respect to the foregoing objectives because graduates already teaching, or now studying for higher degrees, approached research in graduate school with confidence, and even with zest. In fact some of them have assisted classmates in getting started on theses and dissertations.

#### GETTING STARTED ON A PROJECT

Until early November, during the first quarter, students examine examples of social research in the literature as well as studies completed by undergraduates in the past, with special attention to the methodology in each case. Students are free to select the topic they will study. Consideration of a possible project for investigation is uppermost right from the beginning of the course. Choices are made on the basis of such factors as special access to sources because of the social situation of which the student is a part; problems that have been dramatized, such as delinquency; being one of a team for an already selected topic; testing an intriguing hypothesis; or continuing a series already inaugurated.

Class discussion of each contemplated study is essential, the most important result of which is effective delimitation of topics. One of the most serious handicaps to successful undergraduate research is attempting to complete a too ambitious project. All approved topics should offer students experience in the major phases of scientific investigation. Unless planning allows for this, time may run out without adequate attention to one or more steps, especially the important final step of organizing the report, with provision for editing by the research director.

Recourse is had early to a good textbook, for example, *Methods in Social Research*, by Goode and Hatt. This book is consulted in connection with every step in the progress of the study. For

example, most studies stem from hypotheses. Help in their formulation is found in the textbook. Testing hypothesis is usually one of the principal objectives of a study. All the objectives as well as all the procedures are listed in a research plan which we have come to call, the "contract." The first part of the "contract" is a tentative title for the study. This "contract" or research plan has three parts: the title, a statement of objectives, and a listing of procedures or techniques that will be utilized. First drafts of a "contract" are usually inadequate and need the "editorial" assistance of the director.

Upon approval of the "contract," field work begins. Students spend a minimum of four hours per week, in "laboratory work" or "in the field." Class sessions are reduced from three to two. Progress reports are made from time to time and suggestions are offered by all to all. Office conferences with the students are a continuing part of the director's work. If the director has other duties, two projects are as many as he can supervise efficiently, although three can be handled under special conditions. The director should not carry more than a total of 11 or 12 semester hours of class work *including* the research course.

#### EXAMPLES OF RESEARCH "CONTRACTS"

*Title 1: Characteristics of a teenage gang in a metropolitan area.*

##### *Aims*

1. To find out how a gang operates: the history and background of members, the organization, activities, and some of the influences affecting the gang
2. To test the following hypotheses:
  - A. The gang process is continuous
    - a. Teenage gangs recruit from related pre-adolescent gangs
    - b. Gang membership held by older brothers influences younger siblings to affiliate with a related pre-adolescent gang
  - B. Acceptance of girls into an auxiliary relationship operates in the direction of delinquency
  - C. Young criminals have had membership in a predatory gang
    - a. Gang members from a middle class family background seldom "graduate" into a criminal career



- b. Former gang members who have been in conflict with the law exercise a baneful influence on the gang.

#### *Procedures*

1. Read books written on the subject to get a better understanding of the theory of gangs
2. Get most of my information by "participant" observation
3. Interview police and agency workers who deal with this problem to discover what measures are being taken with respect to gang activities
4. Keep a "Log" of contacts with the gang, recording principal activities
5. Organize a report indicating evidence for and against the validity of the hypotheses and sub-hypotheses
6. Submit a copy of the report to the Sociology Department of La Salle College in partial fulfillment of the requirements for Sociology 407-408.

*Title 2: Effectiveness of the curfew regulations in Philadelphia.*

*Sub-title: The effects of curfew regulations upon the prevalence of major offenses by juveniles, coming to the attention of the police during the hours the curfew is in effect, from January 1956 until January 1957*

#### *Hypotheses*

1. The curfew has had the effect of lessening the rate of juvenile delinquency in the city of Philadelphia
2. The seriousness of the offenses of juveniles has increased even though the number has decreased
3. A majority of the residents of the city are in favor of the curfew.

#### *Procedures*

1. Read the curfew regulations
2. Present a history of the regulations and of the reasons for adopting a curfew in Philadelphia
3. Interview Police Officials
4. Prepare a chart comparing juvenile offenses in the year immediately preceding the enactment of the regulations with those of the first year of enforcement



5. Interview two hundred residents by area sampling, using a schedule
6. Interview fifty teenagers in the families of the sample
7. Indicate the evidence for and against the validity of the hypotheses in a report made to the Sociology Department of La Salle College.

#### TECHNIQUES UTILIZED IN ADVANCING A PROJECT

As a study progresses additional techniques can be experienced. From a library search for related theory and research the student proceeds to gather data by interviews, mailed questionnaires, observation, examination of records, or a combination of several of these methods. Field investigation is usually preceded by determination of a sample universe, and the construction of a questionnaire, schedule, or scale which must be subjected to revision based on a pre-test. Sampling has proved to be an unusually interesting procedure.

A mass of data accumulates. Most students are overwhelmed, wondering how to handle it. Classification of the data, the obvious next step, becomes a revealing and rewarding process. Formulation of a code precedes machine processing of the data. Construction of Tables follows—not an easy step for the most part. Analysis and interpretation of the Tables is more interesting but students miss important relationships. Class discussion of the proper interpretation is essential—time must be allowed for it. Deadlines have been established for each of the foregoing steps and they must be adhered to as strictly as possible. Organization into sections and chapters is finally possible and the writing begins. Responsibility for various parts of the write-up is assigned according to the number of students participating. At this point decisions are made concerning which data lend themselves to graphic representation, or must be so presented to effectively “make a point,” especially if it concerns hypotheses. Considerable editorial work devolves upon the research director, there being few students who compose satisfactorily at first.

Ideally, after the written report has been accepted, it should be available for perusal by all members of the class, and the whole area represented by the study should be reviewed.

#### TYPES OF PROJECTS COMPLETED

##### *Socialization in a Rurban Parish*

A very carefully devised random sample of over two hundred families known to the parish agreed to a schedule interview. The purpose was to

study the effectiveness of communication between priests and parishioners; the impact of parish life. Study was undertaken by one student who won the cooperation of an assistant pastor.

*Ecological Processes in an Urban Natural Area*

Schedule interviews (8% sample) and census tract data were used as a basis for noting relationships between housing project residents and social classes residing in an urban area "isolated" by natural barriers. The zonal hypothesis of city development is well illustrated although somewhat modified by "sectors" in the outermost zone. Twelve students participated. Division of labor was well planned throughout, but the first draft of the study was not assembled until the last day of the school year. This study was suggested by the Catholic Interracial Council of Philadelphia.

*Attitudes Toward the Curfew Regulations in Philadelphia*

Municipal officials were interviewed as well as an area sample of 200 adults and 50 teenagers. A team of five students overwhelmed at first by the mass of data gathered experienced relief in learning methods of classification. After coding, the data were punched on Keysort cards. Tables were constructed and utilized for interpretation and analysis of the data. Results of this study were "aired" via the radio in an interview with the Mayor of Philadelphia.

*The Class Five Years Graduated—A Study of Outcomes*

One of a continuing series proposed by the College administration. A return of 70% or better from four classes successively affords an opportunity to evaluate the Religion program, the College program in general, extracurricular activities, and other features of college life. Occupational classification is tabulated as well as other situational data concerning the graduate and his wife. (Nearly 25% single). In addition to preparing or revising the questionnaire, the techniques utilized were: mailing several "waves" of the questionnaire, coding the data, machine processing, construction of Tables, interpreting and analyzing these data and, eventually, writing the report after planning its organization.

*Some Characteristics of a Teenage Gang in a Metropolitan Area*

Close observation, almost participant, of a boy's gang which had girls as "Auxiliaries." Some "graduates" of the gang were in prison. Structure and clique relationships were charted. A log of activities of the gang over a period of six months revealed some alarming conditions.

*Propinquity as a Factor in Philadelphia Marriages*

This is a repetitive study following Bossard as a model. Two students using data from 3000 consecutive marriage licenses found that before marriage couples lived at a median distance of less than two miles apart. The two men who completed this study also considered occupational propinquity and class differences by sections of the city.

*Invasion and Succession in Three Census Tracts of Philadelphia*

A small and random sample of old and recent residents granted a schedule interview. Three businessmen of the area and five Catholic priests

(of several nationalities) submitted to interviews. Three Protestant clergymen refused to be interviewed. The three tracts in this area are nearly coterminous with a long established section of the city, the eastern boundary of one tract being the Delaware river. This is one of the earlier projects and was methodologically weaker than others completed later.

#### EQUIPMENT

The minimum equipment needed for such projects included:

1. A room designated as the social research laboratory available to the researchers at all times.
2. Two or more long tables on which materials can be spread out and left without fear of their being disturbed.
3. Ten or more comfortable chairs.
4. A good typewriter and a typewriter table.
5. A draughting table and draughting tools.
6. An automatic calculating machine.
7. Two file cabinets—one outside, for folders larger than  $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$ .
8. A cupboard to store materials under lock.
9. A cabinet with shelves large enough to accommodate charts or maps,  $17 \times 24$  or somewhat larger.
10. An electric punch machine of the McBee-Royal Keysort type, or easy access to IBM machine processing equipment.
11. Office supplies.

#### PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED

A list of possible difficulties would include:

1. Delimitation of the area of investigation.
2. Maintenance of deadline dates.
3. Organization and writing of reports.
4. Inability to make use of any but the most elementary statistical devices and techniques.
5. Failure to learn from mistakes.
6. Lack of time for class discussion of all areas of each study. (Each project tends to be independently pursued to the neglect of lessons to be learned from experiences being gained by the other students.)
7. Lack of time to review in class the whole area of which the study is a part.
8. A need for financial aid, for grants.

Remunerative work after school prevents students from devoting extra time to a project. A grant for research could offer sufficient inducement to substitute work on research instead. Money for travel may seem a small item, but as the expense mounts students are more reluctant to return to the field except

for essential data. (When the research is for the College, as it sometimes is, the College supplies the necessary funds.)

These are the problems that will be encountered by those who attempt undergraduate research and some of them seem to be perennial. If any one problem is more significant than the others, it is probably that of getting students to delimit the topic.

#### SOME RESULTS FOR THE STUDENT

Undergraduate research actually initiates the student in the intricacies of social research. Valuable training in basic techniques is experienced. Respect for research is engendered and carried forward by those who attend graduate school. Grants-in-aid have been made by graduate schools to men who have given evidence that they can assist with research projects.

#### RESULTS FOR THE COLLEGE

The reputation of the College is enhanced when capable and well trained students go on to graduate school, perform creditably, and are awarded higher degrees. Projects suggested by the College, for example studies of the outcomes of the College Program, have been successfully completed at La Salle.

Nevertheless, inauguration of a program of research as a separate course should be undertaken only after due consideration. Certainly, students can be assisted to undertake real field work projects as term papers in connection with regular sociology courses, while run-of-the-mill students fulfill their assignments as assistants or in the library. In this case neither the teacher nor the students receive the satisfactions yielded by a separate course, but some "laboratory" work gets done—and that is important.

Finally, it may be stated that satisfactory and valid research has been accomplished by undergraduates. They benefit, the College benefits, and graduate schools benefit.

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# Catholics and Family Planning

THOMAS J. CASEY, S.J.

## DO CATHOLICS ENGAGE IN FAMILY PLANNING PRACTICES?

Though there probably has never been a generation that did not do some family planning, present socio-economic pressures of American culture have taken the issue of family planning out of the realm of being a purely academic problem for today's parents. Marriage at an early age is popular and this early start has increased the reproductive span together with the probability of a relatively large family. Secondly, infant and child mortality has dropped dramatically in recent decades and has made it likely that most of the children born today will reach maturity. But this drop in mortality has to be bought with increased hospital and medical costs to the parents. Thirdly, children today are for the most part economically nonproductive and since educational and training standards have been raised, they must be supported with considerable financial outlay by parents during a longer period than formerly. And as a fourth difficulty to be faced by modern parents, their isolation as a conjugal unit from the extended family system characteristic of earlier generations and cultures, makes it increasingly unlikely that they will get much substantial help from relatives for such items as baby-sitting, sickness, hospitalization during child birth, and so forth. Finally, our highly impersonal and bureaucratic society with its depreciation of emotional involvement and personal considerations in social relationships has placed the burden of fulfilling these human needs largely within the institution of marriage. The placing of such a burden has not facilitated the practice of either total or periodic continency as a means of implementing family planning and relieving some of the socio-economic pressures that parents experience in their efforts to educate children already born.

As a consequence of these facts it is not surprising that those couples who are not sterile will probably make some effort to plan the size of their families. The most popular methods employed in this planning have been in the nature of contraceptive birth control: that is, some method other than periodic or total continence. And since we know that Catholics have been subjected to the same socio-economic pressures as their non-Catholic

neighbors, (and even greater ones when one considers the cost of keeping up a separate educational system at the price of double taxation), the question naturally arises whether Catholics are resorting to the popular solution of contraceptive birth control in spite of the Catholic Church's well-known norms against this method of family planning.

In order to get an answer to that question a review was made of the sociological literature available to learn what it could tell us on the matter. One way of gathering information on the topic would be to conduct a scientific probability study of the entire population of the United States in which people would be questioned as to their efforts at family planning. In 1955, one such study was made in which 2,713 white married women between the ages of 18 and 39 were so interviewed, and the results of this study were published four years later.<sup>1</sup> This study showed that three out of ten Catholic married couples had resorted to family planning practices which are condemned by the Catholic Church. It also showed that for Catholic couples who were married for at least ten years and who were still fecund and thus likely to have more children, one out of two had practiced a method of birth limitation forbidden by the Church.<sup>2</sup>

Though we have no reason to doubt the scientific validity of this study, still it is admitted that all sampling techniques are subject to some error. Hence it seemed profitable to see whether one might find any further indexes of Catholic conformity to secularistic or Church norms in the area of family planning. Ideally, one would like to have other probability samples of the entire population of the United States against which one might compare the study of Freedman, Whelpton, and Campbell. Such samplings however do not yet exist. But some information as to the nature of Catholic family planning practices can be found in an examination of (1) Catholic-Protestant birth-rate differentials, (2) attitudes which Catholics have expressed on family planning, (3) non-random studies of Catholics and their family planning practices, and (4) correlates in Catholic religious attitudes and practices. These may serve as rough indexes of the extent of conformity to secularistic or Church norms among Catholics in the area of family planning.

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<sup>1</sup> Ronald Freedman, Pascal K. Whelpton, and Arthur A. Campbell, *Family Planning, Sterility, and Population Growth*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1959), p. 10.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 182-183.

## CATHOLIC-PROTESTANT BIRTH-RATE DIFFERENTIALS:

## WHAT DO THEY INDICATE?

Back in 1935, Stouffer published an article in which he gave the results of a study which he had done on trends in birth rates and fertility. This research was done on more than 40,000 Wisconsin urban families, and he called attention to the fact that according to his data the Catholic fertility rate was declining more rapidly than that of non-Catholics.<sup>3</sup> Such a trend by itself, of course, would not prove that the decline in Catholic fertility was being brought about by contraception. But as an explanation for this decline Stouffer states:

However, if contraception (including coitus interruptus) was not used extensively, the only other explanation would be an increase in continence, since age has been for all practical purposes a constant throughout the period, since no biological change could account for such a sharp decline in fertility, and since the Ogino-Knaus "rhythm" method of birth control, which has ecclesiastical approbation, appeared too late to have an appreciable influence during the time period covered by this study.<sup>4</sup>

This study was restricted to the state of Wisconsin, but Stouffer added that what little evidence was available on the matter, seemed to suggest that this same trend in fertility rates was characteristic of northern and western cities of the United States.<sup>5</sup>

Some months after Stouffer published his findings, Robinson wrote an article in which he gave confirmation for the former's research by reporting that he found the Catholic birth rate declining rapidly among families of Polish and Italian descent in the city of Chicago.<sup>6</sup> More recently, a study of another American Catholic community has confirmed the findings of the above two researchers. This study was done of the town of Hamtramck, Michigan, which has been an immigrant Polish Catholic community. The decline of the Catholic birth rate stands out notably when compared with the birth rate in neighboring Detroit.

<sup>3</sup> Samuel A. Stouffer, "Trends in the Fertility of Catholics and Non-Catholics," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (September 1935), 144.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 161-163.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 166.

<sup>6</sup> Gilbert Kelly Robinson, "The Catholic Birth Rate: Further Facts and Implications," *The American Journal of Sociology*, XLI (May 1935), 757-758.



The birth rates of Catholics and Protestants cannot be compared directly. We can only relate the Catholics of Hamtramck to the mixed population of Catholics and Protestants in Detroit. However, if we compare the total white population of the two communities over the entire period, we see that in 1920 the total fertility rate in Hamtramck was 92 per cent above Detroit; in 1930 it was 18 per cent higher; by 1940 it was actually 3 per cent lower than Detroit; and in 1950 it was 13 per cent lower.<sup>7</sup>

Though the Catholic fertility rate has dropped notably in recent decades, there still appears to be evidence that a Catholic-non-Catholic differential in favor of a larger Catholic birth rate still remains. It is true that the national study found practically no difference in family size for Catholics as opposed to Protestants in the United States.<sup>8</sup> But there are data for Western countries in general, including the United States, which support a higher Catholic birth rate.

With regard to the three major religious groups in the Western countries, fertility rates tend to be highest among the Catholics, intermediate among the Protestants, and lowest among the Jews. For instance, the average number of children ever born per 1,000 ever-married women 45 years old and over in the United States in 1957 was 3,056 for the Catholics, 2,753 for the Protestants, and 2,218 for the Jews.<sup>9</sup>

This would make Catholic fertility rates in the United States roughly 10 per cent higher than those of the Protestants. But an average of 3 births per ever-married Catholic woman is still not a very large number for family size. However, Brooks and Henry offer some evidence to the effect that, "although Catholic-non-Catholic fertility differentials were declining at an earlier period, it seems that they are increasing at the present time."<sup>10</sup>

What explanation can be given for the fact that Catholic

<sup>7</sup> Albert J. Mayer and Sue Marx, "Social Change, Religion, and Birth Rates," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LXII (January 1956), 387.

<sup>8</sup> Freedman, Whelpton, and Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 275.

<sup>9</sup> Clyde V. Kiser, "Current Mating and Fertility Patterns and Their Demographic Significance," *Eugenics Quarterly*, VI (June 1959), 79.

<sup>10</sup> Hugh E. Brooks and Franklin J. Henry, "An Empirical Study of the Relationships of Catholic Practice and Occupational Mobility to Fertility," *The Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXXVI (July 1958), 254.



birth rates have dropped so notably, and that while the Catholic birth rate remains somewhat higher than the Protestant one, the difference is not significant? Some explanation for it might be found in the fact that there still appears to be evidence that the Catholic marriage rate is lower than the Protestant one and this may have a small influence on the birth rates. Or again, the fact that Catholics marry later in life may help to keep their birth rate somewhat lower than what we would expect it to be if they married at the same age as Protestants do.<sup>11</sup>

Another explanation for the rapid and large drop in the birth rate for Catholics might be sought in the adoption of the "rhythm method" of family planning by a large number of Catholics. However, what evidence we have on the matter leads to a doubt that an effective use of rhythm brought about the decline in the Catholic birth rate or at least brought it down to a number which is much below what would be expected if no method of family planning were practiced. For one thing, an adequate knowledge of the rhythm system of birth limitation is a rather recent acquirement, at least for the major part of the American people, and the Catholic birth rate dropped dramatically in the 1920s and 1930s. The rhythm method has never been rated too highly as being notably effective in limiting births and for many of those who tried to use it in the 1920s and 1930s, they were misinformed as to which are the "safe" and which are the "dangerous" periods with regard to the possibility of conception.<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, though rhythm does not appear as the cause of the decline in Catholic fertility, it would seem that we are forced to an admission that some voluntary method of control must have been employed by Catholics, as it was employed by non-Catholics, in lowering their fertility rates. While not denying that other factors contributed to this decline, contemporary demographers appear to be in general agreement on the fact that the major part of the secular decline in the birth rate in the Western world has been brought about by means of voluntary birth control.<sup>13</sup> This is also the considered judgment of those who made the national study.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> "Fertility of College Graduates," *Population Bulletin*, XV No. 6. (September 1959), 101-113.

<sup>12</sup> Freedman, Whelpton, and Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 176-177.

<sup>13</sup> Bernard Okun, *Trends in Birth Rates in the United States Since 1870*, (Baltimore: The John Hopkins Press, 1958), pp. 160-162.

<sup>14</sup> Freedman, Whelpton, and Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-242.

## ATTITUDES OF CATHOLICS TOWARD FAMILY PLANNING

In 1943, *Fortune* ran one of its surveys in which it interviewed young women between the ages of twenty and thirty-five. A variety of questions and opinions were asked of these women and one question covered the topic of making available information on birth control to married women. In response to the question: "Do you believe that knowledge about birth control should or should not be made available to all married women?" Sixty nine per cent of the Catholic women interviewed stated that they thought that it should be made available to them.<sup>15</sup>

Unfortunately, the survey distinguishes for us neither the meaning of the term "birth control" nor the methods which might be employed to achieve it. Consequently, the data become much less meaningful for us when we try to use it for assessing the degree of conformity, or lack of it, on the part of Catholics to the teaching of the Church on family planning. Considering the date of the interviews and the fact that until rather recently in the popular conception of the term, "birth control" usually meant "contraceptive or artificial birth control," one might argue that for 69 per cent of the Catholic women to endorse the giving of birth-control information means that at least a sizable proportion of this percentage must have been in favor of Church-condemned methods of family planning. But the argument would have to remain a probability at best and not a certainty.

More recently, and on a much smaller scale, an attempt was made to ascertain the attitudes of Catholics who were students in a non-Catholic college towards the use of contraception. Seventy-five of the 222 women who participated in the study were Catholics, and of these 75 Catholics, 18 per cent of them said that they would consider the use of contraceptives to control the birth of children.<sup>16</sup> The fact that this study finds a smaller percentage of Catholics who intend to use contraceptives than the actual percentage of users which the national study found (30 per cent) does not really go against the findings of the national study. For this study found that the percentage of young couples who expect to use contraceptives in marriage is smaller than the actual number of users who have been married longer. As these authors point out, some couples did not seriously think

<sup>15</sup> "The Fortune Survey," *Fortune*, XXVIII, No. 2. (August 1943),

<sup>16</sup> Victor A. Christopherson and James Walters, "Responses of Protestants, Catholics, and Jews Concerning Marriage and Family Life," *Sociology and Social Research*, XLIII (Sept.-Oct. 1958), 46,16-17,21.

about family size problems until successive pregnancies forced them to do so.<sup>17</sup>

Of much greater significance for our purposes than these two studies is the survey which was made for the *Catholic Digest* during June and July, 1952. Personal interviews were conducted with 2,987 persons who represented a cross-section of United States adults 18 years of age and over. The objectives of this survey were to measure quantitatively some of the religious beliefs and practices of American adults, and a question was included in the survey schedule on the topic of artificial or mechanical methods of birth control. Of the Catholics questioned as to whether they agreed with the Church's stand on birth control, 38 per cent of them said that they disagreed and another 11 per cent stated that they did not know whether they did agree with the Church's prohibition of mechanical birth-control methods. Thus only 51 per cent of the Catholics interviewed were in clear agreement with the Church's stand on methods of family planning.<sup>18</sup>

#### NON-RANDOM STUDIES OF CATHOLICS AND THEIR PRACTICE OF FAMILY PLANNING

In 1939, Raymond Pearl published the results of his study of the extent of contraceptive practices among American women. As a basis for this study he gathered information about birth-limitation practices from more than 30,000 women who were delivered of a baby in the obstetric service of some hospitals located in the eastern part of the United States. Catholic women were included in this sampling, but all of these Catholic women were delivered of their babies in non-Catholic hospitals since no Catholic hospitals were included in the survey. Of the more than 9,000 Catholic women in the sample, Pearl found that about one-third of them admitted to having employed methods of birth limitation.<sup>19</sup>

Unfortunately for our purposes, in this study Pearl did not distinguish rhythm from the other methods of birth limitation that Catholics may have employed. Nevertheless, it seems unlikely that rhythm was employed to any great extent by the Catholic women since the Ogino-Knaus explanation of it was

<sup>17</sup> Freedman, Whelpton, and Campbell, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

<sup>18</sup> "The Catholic Digest Survey," *Catholic Digest*, XVI (June-July 1952).

<sup>19</sup> Raymond Pearl, *The Natural History of Population* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1939), p. 241.

only made known in 1930 and during the thirties not many people were well informed about it. The evidence would seem to point to a considerable use of Church-condemned methods of family planning on the part of Catholics.

The following year, 1940, the results of another study on the extent of the use of contraceptives were published. This study was conducted by the Market Research Corporation of America and the data were analyzed and edited by Riley and White for the *American Sociological Review*. Of some 475 Catholic respondents out of about 2,400 interviews with urban married women, 43 per cent of this Catholic sampling admitted to family planning practices other than safe period, plain douche, or withdrawal.<sup>20</sup>

More recent, and on a smaller scale than these two studies, is the study by Kanin of Indiana University.<sup>21</sup> This researcher tried to get some estimate of the extent of Catholics practicing contraception by polling planned parenthood clinics and then, secondly, by taking a sampling of Catholic students (50 couples) residing at Indiana University. His data tend to be in agreement with what the earlier studies found.

As a final example of a non-random sample of Catholics and their family planning practices, we can take the study of Samen-fink at a southwestern Louisiana university. In interviewing social workers and doctors of the area, he found them in agreement that a large percentage of young Roman Catholic couples were using methods of family planning other than rhythm.<sup>22</sup> When it came to summarizing the results of his sampling of Catholic married students, Samenfink stated that 52 per cent of the men and 38 per cent of the women (sample included 50 men and 50 women) indicated their acceptance of the use of contraception in marriage. As to their actual behavior, he found that 54 per cent of the men and 48 per cent of the women had used contraception in marriage.<sup>23</sup>

<sup>20</sup> John Winchell Riley and Matilda White, "The Use of Various Methods of Contraception," *American Sociological Review*, V (December 1940), 895.

<sup>21</sup> Eugene J. Kanin, "Value Conflicts in Catholic Device-contraceptive Usage," *Social Forces*, XXXV (March 1956), 238-243.

<sup>22</sup> J. Anthony Samenfink, "A Study of Some Aspects of Marital Behavior as Related to Religious Control," *Marriage and Family Living*, XX (May 1958), 163.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 168.

## CORRELATES IN CATHOLIC RELIGIOUS ATTITUDES AND PRACTICES

To find Catholics deeply attached to their faith and nearly 100 per cent faithful to formal religious duties would certainly give one reason to doubt that they would be remiss in heeding the often repeated norms of the Catholic Church in the area of family planning. On the other hand, to find them remiss in other areas of their Catholic way of life would make rather likely the fact that they do not observe Church teaching on family planning when it becomes seriously inconvenient and difficult for them to do so. This becomes especially significant in the light of the finding of the national study that the only substantial basis for opposition to family limitation on the part of both Catholics and Protestants is religious belief.<sup>24</sup> When this influence of religious belief grows weak in a large segment of the Catholic population, it is hardly to be expected that it will be strong enough to resist all the socio-economic pressures of American secularistic culture which, in the minds of many Americans, make contraception a practical necessity. There is justification, therefore, in taking some sociological findings of notable weaknesses in the religious lives of a sizable number of Catholics as an index of their heeding Church teaching on family planning.

A few years ago Salisbury did a study on religion and secularization in American society. Through the use of a questionnaire he obtained pertinent information from more than 1,600 undergraduate students from ten Teachers Colleges in the state of New York. He wanted to test the hypothesis that secular values are taking precedence over sacred values among adherents of major American faiths. As the conclusion to this study he stated:

The data support the hypothesis that: Secular values are taking precedence over sacred values among the adherents of the major American faiths. Increased identification with formal religion is explainable not so much that the American people are becoming more religious as that religion is becoming more like American culture.<sup>25</sup>

In this study religious belief was shown to exercise a stronger influence on Catholics than on either Protestants or Jews, but the evidence did not point to the conclusion that religion was

<sup>24</sup> Freedman, Whelpton, and Campbell, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

<sup>25</sup> W. Seward Salisbury, "Religion and Secularization," *Social Forces*, XXXVI (March 1958) 204.

exercising a controlling influence over the behavior patterns of American Catholics.

Some years before this when the *Catholic Digest* conducted its survey of religious attitudes and practices, this same secularistic trend was manifested in the way both Catholics and non-Catholics conceived of the work of the Church as primarily orientated to this world.<sup>26</sup> And if the evidence of a secularistic philosophy of life influencing Catholics may be taken as a probability that these same Catholics will embrace some of the practices, such as contraception, which are sanctioned and endorsed by secularism, then too, a defect in Catholic religious training may be taken as an indication of a probable defect in behavior called for by such training. Hence Thomas's finding that hardly one-third of our Catholic children are entering the parochial schools knowing the traditionally expected simple prayers and basic teachings of the Church is significant.<sup>27</sup> Notable weaknesses appear in the religious training given in the Catholic home and this is bound to have its effect in later life. For only if the Catholic value system has been incorporated into the personality structure of the individual is there any real likelihood that it will prevail over the more immediate rewards of a secular value system.

Moreover, in a study of some southern parishes Fichter found that he had to classify about one-half of the baptized Catholics as either "dormant" or "marginal."<sup>28</sup> And in addition to finding this remissness in the practice of the faith, he found that religious observance for Catholics was definitely correlated to marital status. The single were better than the married in their fidelity to religious observances, and during the child-bearing years of the thirties, the religious life of Catholics was at its lowest ebb. Starting with the forties it began to improve and continued to rise with succeeding age decades.<sup>29</sup> In confirmation of this study of Fichter's, Schuyler found the same pattern to hold true for Catholics in his study of a northern parish.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>26</sup> "What Should the Church Do First?" *Catholic Digest*, XVIII (February 1954), 127-128.

<sup>27</sup> John L. Thomas, S.J., "Religious Training in The Roman Catholic Family," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (September 1951), 180.

<sup>28</sup> Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., "The Marginal Catholic; An Institutional Approach," *Social Forces*, XXXII (December 1953), 169.

<sup>29</sup> Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., "The Profile of Catholic Religious Life," *The American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (August 1952), 146-7.

<sup>30</sup> Joseph B. Schuyler, S.J., "Religious Observance Differentials by Age and Sex in Northern Parish," *American Catholic Sociological Review*, XX (Summer 1959), 129.

The review therefore of some of the correlates in Catholic religious attitudes and practices has revealed no serious reason for doubting the trend of the other studies which shows a considerable number of Catholics as deviating from Church norms in their efforts at family planning. This is not surprising when the magnitude of the pressure which American secularistic society and culture exerts upon Catholics is properly appreciated. The secularistic culture of the United States is geared to the practice of contraceptive birth control and its resulting small or moderate size family units. If the Catholic, owing to his religious beliefs, refuses to conform to this pattern, he is faced with the problems arising from supporting a large family or limiting his offspring through the admittedly difficult method of periodic or total continence. Without strong religious motivation and support it is unlikely that he will make either choice. The weakened appeal of his own Catholic value system will probably allow him to fall victim to the attraction of immediate, short-term solutions and gains offered by secularistic society.

Consequently, from a sociological point of view, anyone who wishes to solve the family-planning problem for Catholics will have to devise a means of lessening the socio-economic pressures of secular society which push towards the use of contraceptives. At the same time he will have to strengthen the motivation force of the Catholic value system within the cultural environment of American Catholics. We submit that satisfactory solution to that problem has not yet been sufficiently thought out. One might ask whether the need for such thinking is generally accepted.

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# Children As Informants: The Child's-Eye View of Society And Culture

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It is the thesis of this paper that students of society and culture have much to learn from children—that what we can learn from child informants is unique and indeed indispensable to a comprehensive view of society and culture. Let us now examine this proposition, defining and illustrating the role of the child informant and the potentialities of the child's eye-view.

## WHY CHILDREN AS INFORMANTS

That an *American* anthropologist should emphasize the child as an informant is perhaps something of a cultural inevitability. An anthropologist can be at best but relatively emancipated from the cultural web in which he—like all the members of his society—is intricately enmeshed from at least the moment of birth. It is hardly possible for Americans—social scientists or not—to wholly escape the compulsive focus upon childhood which is so peculiarly hypertrophied in our contemporary culture. This focus is so extreme that we are becoming at least sporadically aware of it; of late there have been references to ours as a child-centered society, and even to our domestic government as a form of *paedocracy*.

But whatever the ultimate roots of his motivations, the social scientist, irrespective of his culture, approaches the child informant with a detachment appropriate to his craft. He turns to the child because there is no one else to whom he can go for a fresh and firsthand account—unaltered by the tricks of retrospection—of society and culture as known by children. He assumes that children can serve as anthropological style informants, being qualified—like their elders—by membership in a society and command of a limited part of that society's culture. Moreover that part of culture which is known to the child may have a peculiar

significance, since what is learned early is likely to be fundamental, pervasive, and persistent in the culture.

#### THE DISTINCTIVE NATURE OF CHILD INFORMANT STUDIES

The concept of the child as informant is not new; though it is seldom explicitly stated and has been minimally utilized. Data derived essentially in this frame of reference have been reported by Leighton and Kluckhohn (1947), by Nadel (1937), Dennis (1940), Goodman (1952), and by others working less anthropologically.

It should be noted, too, that we are discussing here a method and a goal very unlike what may be broadly designated as "studies of childhood." What we learn about childhood, in the process of enlisting children to aid us in the study of society and culture, may not be insignificant but it is incidental. What we learn is peripheral and supplementary to the observations of such child authorities as Gesell, Piaget, Mead, Whiting and Bossard, and it is what we do not get from the works of this distinguished company. Through their works we stand off from children and look upon them, assessing the forces which shape them.

In such studies as we are presently discussing, the focus is sharply altered; in these we stand *beside* children and look *with* them out upon the social scene. Moreover, in such studies as we are now discussing our interest lies not in the child as a bundle of psychological dynamics or even as an individual, but rather in the child as a member of society and a culture-bearer. And we are not studying socialization; our concern is rather with cognitive and affective patterns stemming largely from it. We are concerned with the content of what has been learned, and not with the mechanics of learning or with society's techniques for teaching. Quite apart from academic interests, it seems likely that practical interests may be served by thus shifting our attention from the mechanics to the content of learning. In recent years we seem almost to have lost interest in *what* children learn while preoccupied with when and how they learn.

#### WORKING THROUGH CHILD INFORMANTS

The child informant may be induced to speak through the conventional field ethnographer's interview or a variation thereof, or through any other medium in which he can express himself; e.g., through projective devices, pictures, or expositions in writing. Let us consider these forms of expression and note some examples of their use in research and the products of that use.

## THE INTERVIEW

The interview as either a research tool or a therapeutic device can be most simply defined as a purposeful conversation. No one who has bothered to talk seriously with a child—with even a three- or four-year-old—will question whether he is capable of participating in a purposeful conversation. In the presence of a competent interviewer who is not a total stranger and who can use his language, the child will talk, and he can be guided to talk on a wide variety of social topics. From the varied experience and practices of several investigators who have used children as informants, it is possible to deduce a typology of interviews. These types we may call the straight interview, the play interview, the projective interview, and the test interview.

## THE "STRAIGHT" INTERVIEW

Until recently it was my conviction that to interview children below school age successfully one must use "props"—material things such as pictures, dolls, or puzzles—chosen to catch, focus and hold the child's attention. But this conviction was apparently but another manifestation of what adults commonly do in approaching children; we commonly underestimate their capacities and ascribe to them qualities which would make them a different order of being from ourselves.

In the course of trying out a variety of interview techniques preliminary to a study now in progress at Tufts University, we discovered the value of simple and unadorned conversation with four- and even three-year-olds. In the Tufts project we are now systematically testing the research value of the "straight" interview with four-year olds.

The Tufts study, which is focused upon "emergent citizenship," is designed to explore the child's ideas and feelings with respect to five topics which we assume to be relevant to citizenship behavior (i.e., behavior as a member of society). We are exploring the child's ideas and feelings concerning (1) authority figures (parents, teachers, and police), (2) rules and regulations, (3) property rights and the handling of property, (4) personal rights and obligations with respect to other people, and (5) what is "good" and what is "bad." The design of the study calls for three interviews with each child, and while the second and third are structured around social situation pictures, the first is built of straight question and answer.

We are not yet in a position to measure the effectiveness of either interview form; it is our impression that both are serving our purposes well, and that the straight interview—if designed for about fifteen or twenty minutes—draws sustained response from children of normal attentiveness and verbal command.

#### THE "PLAY" INTERVIEW AND THE "PROJECTIVE" INTERVIEW

In an earlier study focused upon concepts and attitudes concerning Negroes and whites (Goodman, 1952), we interviewed four-year-olds using a variety of "props" and of modified projective devices. We used pictures, doll families, several pairs of dolls, and form-board-type puzzles, all designed for this investigation and all representing people in pairs—one brown and one white—and otherwise alike. Our use of these materials with the children had two parts: (a) we presented the child with a set of materials and encouraged and waited for his spontaneous response to it; (b) we asked a few standardized questions about each set of materials. Over a period of several months each child was interviewed four times. The interviews were of two types, (1) those which were primarily guided and purposeful play situations and (2) those which were built around projective devices.

#### PLAY INTERVIEW

The play interview can be illustrated by our use with the child of two families of miniature dolls (a brown and a matching white family), and a furnished doll house. Adapted from Lois Murphy's "Miniature Life Toy" technique (Lerner and Murphy, 1941), the procedure was of the simplest, i.e., to turn the child loose with these materials and to observe his spontaneous behavior and comments. But the situation evolved from this phase into interview as the child concluded his spontaneous play and the observer guided the child into a sequence of questions built around the dolls with which he had been playing.

Among other things we asked for an expression of preference as between the brown and white fathers, mothers, etc.; we were usually given—by the white children—an unequivocal white preference. The white children gave as their "reasons" either the fact of resemblance between the preferred doll and the self or a member of own family, or the simple statement: "this one's prettier." From the Negro children we frequently had equivocation and other indications of reluctance to state a choice and uneasiness in the situation. This phenomenon we observed consistently

with Negro as compared with white children when their attention was brought to bear upon matters of race.

It was clear in this interview, as in others, that the Negro children, at the tender age of less than five, have already embraced white standards for physical appearance. They, like white children, regard whites as "prettier." But the internalization of such personal esthetics leaves the Negro child in a most painful dilemma, because he is (usually) quite aware that he and his do not measure up to his own standards for personal appearance. Here is a capsule demonstration of the fact that Negroes are not only Americans but—culturally speaking—white Americans. It is clear that standards and values implicit in the culture borne by white Americans become a part, sometimes a very awkward part, of the Negro American's cultural baggage, and that this occurs very early in his life.

#### PROJECTIVE INTERVIEW

In the study of race concepts and attitudes the most novel of our projective devices were four form-board type puzzles (i.e., wooden puzzles in which the loose pieces fit into depressions in the puzzle board). Perhaps the most interesting and productive of the puzzles was the "family" puzzle—a puzzle with ten pieces. Each piece is a human figure, and the ten pieces represent two five-member families (two parents, three children) identical except for color. The figures are shown in bathing suits so that the skin color differential is maximized.

We presented the family puzzle with the ten pieces removed and lying in a random heap on the table at which the child was seated. Holding the empty puzzle board up before the child we pointed to the appropriate empty spaces, which are arranged in two rows of five spaces each, saying: "Here is a place for a father, here is a place for a mother, and here—and here—and here—are the places for *their* children." Then, pointing to the spaces in the second row, we continued: "Here are places for *another* father, and *another* mother, and *their* three children. *Put together the people that belong together.*"

This puzzle is so constructed that it is possible to assembly two families both of which will be either racially homogeneous or racially heterogeneous. We found the puzzle an excellent tool for diagnosing a child's level of awareness with respect to (a) color—kind difference, and (b) the prevalence in our society of

families homogeneous with respect to color. Moreover, in the course of handling, arranging, and re-arranging the pieces the child was often stimulated to comment, e.g., "these people are brown (black) and these are white"; "this is me—this is my friend Paul" (pointing to the puzzle figures of appropriate sex and color).

Most striking and poignant of all comments stimulated by this puzzle came from a brown child of less than four and a half. After carefully segregating the figures by color, and putting the white figures in the top row, she looked thoughtfully at the resulting picture. Then, turning to the interviewer, she observed: "The white people—they can go up; the brown people—they have to go down."

The puzzle technique proved highly satisfactory for our purpose. Moreover, since it allows of infinite adaptation to age and to research objectives, it is to be recommended as a research tool for studies involving children as informants.

#### THE TEST INTERVIEW

Havighurst, in his study of attitudes and interests among white and Navaho children (reported in Leighton and Kluckhohn, 1947: 162-173), demonstrates the nature and value of interviews structured and standardized to serve as tests. This investigator used Stewart's "Emotional Response Test" and Bo-velas' "Moral Ideology Test." The former involves a series of questions designed to elicit the child's concepts about happiness, sadness, fear, anger, and shame. E.g., the child is asked to "tell a time when you were happy," and asked similarly with respect to the other emotions. The Moral Ideology Test consists in asking the child to give examples of "good" and praiseworthy, as well as "bad" and blameworthy, behavior.

In discussing the results of these interviews Leighton and Kluckhohn point out some striking facets of differences between the value systems of white and Navaho children. These differences of course imply corresponding differences between Navaho and standard American cultures. To cite but one highly significant example: from the childrens' responses it can be inferred that "work" and "play" are very differently conceptualized as between the Navaho and that tribe which is indigenous to Jonesville, U.S.A. The Indians fail to differentiate in the incisive and polar fashion so highly developed among whites, nor does "work"

have for them the invidious connotations so familiar in our own society. Leighton and Kluckhohn observe that:

It is a question of attached values, this difference between white and Navaho point of view. The Navaho expects to work . . . nor is play only for children and work only for adults; all ages do both as it becomes possible or necessary, as a natural and expected matter. . . . The white child expects to play . . . (and) there seems to be an overall difference in emphasis . . . between white and Navaho attitudes . . . (169-170).

Much more that is of profound significance emerges from this study, as is likely to be the case when children speak to us of their concepts and attitudes, and thereby lay bare the very foundations and structural framework of the way of life which they are learning.

#### CHILD'S-EYE VIEWS EXPRESSED THROUGH PICTURES

A most interesting and promising picture technique was devised and used some years ago by a distinguished author and illustrator of children's books—none other than the famous Doctor Seuss. Early in the post-war period Dr. Seuss visited in Japan, and there became curious about the children of a country so lately in desperate and terrifying straits. How might such children conceptualize their own futures, and in terms of what hopes and inspirations.

Doing what came so naturally to him, the good doctor asked children to tell him these things in pictures. It was equally natural, in a society in which the graphic is a prevalent and painless mode of expression and communication, that children would and could answer his questions in pictures. Dr. Seuss has apparently not reported upon his findings through academic channels, but *Life* magazine once told of his investigation and re-produced some of the pictures in which the children showed themselves as they hoped some day to be. They showed themselves as adults, at work in factories and school rooms, on fire trucks or in police cars, on ships at sea, and more.

The picture expression technique is so simple, but so useful and adaptable, that very much more can and should be done with it. Moreover, the child's own pictures can be used, not only as an end in themselves, but also as a means. That is, the child can be



asked, as was the case in my research in Japan, to draw pictures which then become focal points during an interview.<sup>1</sup>

We asked the children to draw for us pictures of a man, a woman, and a child, and we then asked questions about these people in the child's pictures. Our purpose, in this instance, was to explore the subject's concepts and attitudes with respect to persons occupying certain statuses and playing certain roles in his society. There is an obvious advantage in using the child's own pictures in this fashion; they are "right," meaningful, and interesting to him.

#### EXPOSITIONS IN WRITING

Even by the end of their first year in school it is possible for children to convey something of their ideas and feelings through the written word. Great quantities of data can be gathered in this fashion, and in very short order, with the cooperation of schools and teachers.

There are, for example, unlimited potentialities in the "topic-essay," which amounts merely to stating a topic and asking the child to write his relevant ideas. This device was used—quite coincidentally—by Powdermaker in her study of Rhodesian children (reported in 1956) and by this writer in Japan at almost the same time. The coincidence extends to the fact that among the four essays which Powdermaker asked each of her subjects to write, there was one bearing upon the matters being studied in Japan, i.e., occupational aspirations ("What do you want to be when you grow up, and why?"). The Japanese study was subsequently paralleled in the United States, and a comparative report has been published.<sup>2</sup>

The study demonstrates how much about the respective cultures, and their similarities and differences, can be inferred from the aspirations of children. For example: we can only conclude, from the evidence of compositions from some 1250 Japanese and 3750 American children of first through eighth grades, that mili-

<sup>1</sup> Studies of social concepts, values, and attitudes of Japanese children were made in 1954-55, during the writer's tenure as Fulbright Research Scholar in Japan.

<sup>2</sup> Mary Ellen Goodman, "Values, Attitudes, and Social Concepts of Japanese and American Children," *American Anthropologist*, LIX No. 6 (December 1957), 979-999. (Preparation of this and planned publications, as well as completion of data analysis, were carried out under a grant from the Public Health Service, National Institutes of Health.)

tarism and nationalism are vital themes in contemporary urban United States culture, but not in that of Japan. This conclusion derives from the fact that the Japanese children totally ignore all roles related to the military or to the national defense, and that they discuss national welfare solely in terms of health, peace and prosperity. This is distinctly not true of the American children, among whom seven and a half per cent of boys, and almost one per cent of girls, exhibit a lusty enthusiasm for the armed services and the activities they entail, along with a vigorous old-fashioned nationalism and patriotism. Moreover, humanitarian-compassionate values and attitudes, sometimes explicitly pan-human in scope, are in remarkable frequency among the Japanese children and in excess of similar expressions from American children. It appears that, to paraphrase Benedict's well-known theme, it is they who have the chrysanthemum, right enough, but we who have the sword.

The potentialities in written expositions by children can be illustrated also by reference to a current experiment based upon ingenious work by Nadel with African Yoruba and Nupe children (reported in 1937). This investigator, in attempting to identify patterned conceptualizing habits among the two people, developed a most interesting and simple technique. He created a short dramatic story, and this he told to a group of subjects. Subsequently he asked them to re-tell this story as they remembered it. In Japan and in the United States we have employed this device—and even Nadel's own story—with fifth and sixth graders, modifying his technique only in that we ask the children to write rather than to recite their recalled versions of the story.

If the current experiment (as yet unfinished) works out as did Nadel's, analysis of recurrent discrepancies between the original and the recalled versions will show culturally determined habits of conceptualization. Nadel found, for example, that systematization—the habit of recognizing and dealing in relations and abstract generalizations, was common to the Yoruba children. The Nupe recalls, on the other hand, demonstrated a matter-of-fact attitude and the habit of detailed and accurate sensory perception. Nadel's work provides a striking demonstration of the way in which a simple device, in the hands of so competent a student, can reach to the most fundamental, pervasive and elusive levels of culture.

## CONCLUSION

This review is too brief to touch upon much else which is of relevance to our topic. The writer can claim neither the intention nor the knowledge for a truly comprehensive examination of studies involving children as informants. It is our hope, however, that this paper may generate some new zest for such studies, and stimulate appreciation for the rich and varied content of the child's-eye view of society and culture.

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# Racial Democracy in Brazilian Marriage:

TOWARD A TYPOLOGY OF NEGRO-WHITE INTERMARRIAGE IN  
FIVE BRAZILIAN COMMUNITIES

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It was Robert Park who summed up many observers' impression of racial democracy in Brazil: "the people of Brazil have, somehow, regained that paradisaic innocence, with respect to differences of race."<sup>1</sup> After completing his study of intermarriage in Sao Paulo, Samuel Lowrie concluded that Brazil is "one of the largest, if not the largest, melting-pot of the races."<sup>2</sup> Brazil has been singled out as the great "laboratory of the races,"<sup>3</sup> which offers a "magnificent field for experimental studies on the contacts of races and cultures."<sup>4</sup> No facet of the Brazilian culture has been studied as intensively by sociologists and anthropologists as the area included under race relations.<sup>5</sup>

There is a near consensus of opinion among students of race relations at least on one issue. The crucial problem of race relations is that of Negro-white intermarriage. The common denominator and central nerve of the Negro problem is racial intermarriage. The ultimate case against integration and racial demo-

<sup>1</sup> Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), p. xix.

<sup>2</sup> S. H. Lowrie, "Racial and National Intermarriage in a Brazilian City," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (March, 1939), 684.

<sup>3</sup> Rudiger Bilden, "Brazil, Laboratory of Civilization," *Nation*, CXXVIII (January 16, 1929), 71.

<sup>4</sup> Arthur Ramos, *A Acculturacao no Brazil* (Sao Paulo: Nacional, 1942), p. 199. Translation by the author of this article.

<sup>5</sup> On Brazilian racial intermarriage see: Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slave* (New York: Knopf, 1946); also his *Sobrados e Mucambos* (Rio de Janeiro: Jose Olimpio, 1951); Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*; S. H. Lowrie, *op. cit.*; Charles Wagley, ed., *Races and Class in Brazil* (New York: UNESCO, 1953); Thales de Azevedo, *Les Elites de couleur* (New York: UNESCO, 1953); L. A. Da Costa Pinto, *O Negro no Rio de Janeiro* (Sao Paulo: Nacional, 1953); R. Bastide, F. Fernandes et al., *Relacoes Raciais entre Negros e Brancos em Sao Paulo* (Sao Paulo: Anhembi, 1955); Rene Ribeiro, *Religiao e Racismo* (Rio de Janeiro: Ministry of Education, 1956); and Austin J. Staley, *Racial Intermarriage in Brazil*, Doctoral Dissertation, University of Pittsburgh, 1959.

cracy is regularly made to rest on the issue "Would you want your sister or daughter to marry a Negro?" Hence to a sizable group of theorists racial discriminations function as outposts and bastions set up to protect the caste tabu on racial intermarriage. The Robert MacIver Awardee, Franklin Frazier, puts it this way:

Resistance to integration becomes greater in those associations where contacts are free and informal. But it is in family relations, where human relations tend to be sacred, that there is the greatest resistance to the integration of the Negro. This is why the strongest barrier to the complete acceptance of the Negro is the disapproval of intermarriage.<sup>6</sup>

This study attempts a survey, and to some extent, an analysis and evaluation of the socio-economic factors contributing to a climate permissive to cross-racial marriage. Secondarily, it is a test of the claims that Brazil's racial democracy not only extend to political and economic, but even to the more intimate family relations, for it may be assumed that the ultimate condition of a complete racial democracy is untrammelled racial intermarriage. It is part of a larger study which included a survey of attitudes toward intermarriage among the youth in marriageable age, a content analysis of the plays, poems, novels, lyrics, and sayings expressing popular values on racial intermarriage.

#### PROCEDURE

About two hundred interracially married couples were contacted, and one hundred and forty seven of them were interviewed to determine their socio-economic characteristics, their sensitivity to racial pressures, and, in an open-end procedure, to sense the effects of interraciality on their home life. Besides the focused interview with the majority of the couples, two or three were singled out in each region for extended contact and informal participant observation employing such devices as paging through the family album, playing with the children, engaging the members of the family in discussions which led around to the subject of race relations. Finally the Shneidman's *Make a Picture Story Projective Test* was given to twenty-four of the children of the intermarried couples to detect evidence of

<sup>6</sup> Franklin Frazier, *The Negro in the United States*, Rev. ed., (New York: Macmillan, 1957), p. 698.

aggressiveness, hostility, or rejection.<sup>7</sup> The purpose of this was to employ Stonequist's marginality concept in order to confirm the findings on the existence or absence of pressures arising from racial prejudice.

Because control of the universe of interracial married couples is so hopelessly difficult in face of the absence of official sources and census data, no inductive statistical methods were applied to the findings of the interviews. Randomness in the sample is not assumed, and hence it would be hazardous to claim that the typological profiles set up are an accurate representation of the intermarried in Brazil. Even though they are empirically derived and are drawn from all five regions, there is no way of knowing if they were not too heavily biased toward the lower-class group.

Regionally the sample is more heavily drawn from Belo Horizonte (thirty per cent) and Salvador (twenty-four per cent). Sao Paulo, where the pilot study was made, had only nine per cent of the formal interviews, but many more preliminary contacts had been made there to set up the schedule of questions and plan of the interview. Rio de Janeiro supplied eighteen per cent of sample, and Porto Alegre, nineteen per cent. Leads to contact with intermarried couples in the lower-class were obtained through the public records of such agencies as social assistance, social work, workingman's compensation and from other families. In the middle- and upper-classes contacts were obtained from clergymen, newspapermen, sociologists, and from other interracial married, individually or in their associations. There was little representation of the middle- and upper-classes in Rio de Janeiro.

Two criteria were used to determine whether or not the couple were *interracially* married: first, the judgment of the party giving the lead (whether this was an actual judgment of a third party or the declaration of the parties themselves depended on the source of the lead); secondly, the judgment of the interviewer based upon phenotypic criteria of skin-color, hair-type, and facial features.

In sixty-seven per cent of the cases both husband and wife were interviewed together. The remainder of the interviews were conducted in twenty-three per cent of the cases with the wife and in ten per cent with the husband alone. Generally the interview began with the husband.

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<sup>7</sup> Edwin Shneidman, pp. 70-72 and 79-81.

Then content of the interview was initiated with an immediate interest-awakening device—namely, the Racial Definition Test, to be described below, and the interview contained the following elements:

1. The *Racial Definition Test* was designed to discover any variation in the subjective classification of race. It was a color-photograph of a Brazilian soccer team selected from the files of *Manchete* magazine, the Brazilian counterpart of *Life*. Because all the players, representing a wide variety of racial types, were similarly dressed, the factor of class was eliminated from the influencing subjective judgment of the person interviewed. This test was given to both husband and wife.

2. A *Interracial Sensitivity Test* was devised to ascertain the degree of interracial awareness existing among the interracially married and its variation among the couples and among a wider sample of the Brazilian and North American population. It consisted of a modification of the Thematic Apperception Test. Ten photographs were selected from over five thousand examined in the files of *Manchete*, each one of which contained an interracial situation ranging from a relatively impersonal relationship to a highly intimate, personal one such as dancing together and intermarrying. This last factor was included on the basis of the Myrdal hypothesis of the rank-order of discrimination in his study of race relations made in the United States. The person interviewed was shown one of the pictures at a time and simply asked "What comes to your mind when you look at this picture?"

3. The *socio-economic characteristics* of the intermarried were next obtained by direct query. Very little resistance to this type of question was encountered, probably because the Brazilian has been exposed to considerable such questioning by government agencies and form-filling is frequently required in a highly bureaucratic state. Only one flat refusal was given and reluctance in only a very few others was encountered. This part ferreted out information on the following: a) Brazilian, or immigrant, or second generation; b) rural or urban place of birth; c) rural or urban place of longest residence; d) religion (Catholic, Protestant, Jew, other); e) educational level reached: none, primary (1 to 5 years), secondary (6 to 10 years), beyond secondary (more than 10 years); f) socio-economic class status, defined by the father's occupation, type of home and its location, and amount of education (upper-class, middle-class, upper-lower, and



lower-lower<sup>8</sup>); g) previous marriage; h) age of husband and wife at the time of marriage; i) difference between the age of husband and wife; j) situation of the first meeting; k) number of children; l) duration of the marriage.

4. The amount of *pressures resultant from racial prejudice* from within the family group and from without. A series of question was carefully composed and pretested to detect the amount and origin of such pressures. A check question was included.

5. An *open-end phase* of the interview followed with minimum direction. If the persons volunteered further information, this was noted. Wide questions on racial prejudice were otherwise proposed or specific leads derived from the earlier sections of the interview were pursued. In several couples in each region this open-end phase lasted for a number of revisits with the couples, sometimes developing into a lasting friendship with subsequent get-togethers for dinners, picnics, family-gatherings as occurred in at least six cases.

The vast majority of the interviews were conducted in the home of the couple. The evenings after five o'clock, Saturdays and Sundays were the times selected with the hope that both parties would be present. An interpreter, usually a graduate student in the behavioral sciences, was employed for all of these interviews. This gave the author of this paper greater leeway to observe the milieu and covert expression of the persons interviewed and provided a possibility of discussion of the findings afterwards. A concealed pocket-tape recorder was also used, particularly in the earlier phase of interviewing.

#### CHARACTERISTICS OF THE COUPLES INTERVIEWED

*Skin-Color.* Sixty per cent of the husbands were white. About eight per cent of the men were what the Brazilian calls *morenos*, a preferred type of mixed-blood with "good" hair and "good" facial features, perhaps best described as a white man with a permanent healthy sun-tan.<sup>9</sup> Of the husbands, twenty-two per cent were light Mulattoes and ten per cent were blacks.

The color distribution among the wives of the interracial couples was as follows: forty per cent white, eighteen per cent light

<sup>8</sup> The lower-lower were distinguished from the upper-lower by the fact that they lived in the *favelas*. The *favelas* were clearly defined in the popular mind and were marked by dwellings of a shantytown type.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil*, op. cit., pp. 136-138.

mulattoes, and, (it is noteworthy), sixteen per cent, dark mulattoes, and twenty-six per cent, black.

*Hair-Type.* Among the colored husbands, sixty per cent had kinky hair, twenty-eight per cent straight black oily hair, and five per cent wavy hair. The colored wives had, in eighty-six per cent of the cases observed, kinky hair, seven per cent straight black oily hair, and seven per cent wavy black hair.

*Facial Features.* Facial features, including prognathism, thick lips, low-bridged-large-nostriled nose, were judged to be distributed among the colored husbands as follows: fifty-four per cent distinctly negroid; thirty-five per cent intermediate, twelve per cent non-negroid. With a very slight difference the same distribution was observed among the colored wives, fifty-three, thirty-five, twelve per cent respectively.

*Subjective Definition of Race.* The Racial Definition Test was given to a large sample in each of the five regions. It was a quota sample, not necessarily random, and was based upon the census characteristics established for each region by the 1950 Census. On the basis of the analysis of these data, the national mean was 27.52; the range of the scores was 19 to 33, with an average deviation of 2.43. When this same test was given to a large sample (not necessarily random) in the United States, the mean was 29.9; its range was 22 to 34 with an average deviation of 2.40. Among the white spouses of the interracial married couples, the median score on the Racial Definition Test was 28.5, almost a point higher than the national mean for Brazil. For the colored spouses, it was 27.8, very slightly higher than the national mean. The range for white and colored intermarried persons was 21 to 33.

*Sensitivity to Interraciality.* The Interracial Sensitivity Test was simply scored by adding up number of times the person's indicated awareness of the interracial element in the ten photographs and then dividing this number by ten, i.e., by the number of situations to which he was exposed. When this instrument was given to the same national sample as that described above under the Race Definition Test, an analysis of the data showed that the Brazilian index of interracial sensitivity was .4641, while that of the sample taken in the United States was .9400.

Among the Negro-white couples taking this IST test, sixteen per cent of the whites showed some sensitivity in one or more situations, and fourteen per cent of the colored. The interracial

sensitivity index for all the interracial spouses taking the test was .5918, somewhat higher than that set up for Brazil. Since the findings of this IST test have not been validated or standardized, its value is at best impressionistic.

*National Origin.* Fifty-nine per cent of the white spouses were Brazilian-born. Twenty-three per cent were second generation Brazilians, and eighteen per cent were foreign born, mostly immigrants from Portugal.

*Place of Birth.* The majority of the whites of the intermarried were rural-born—namely, fifty seven per cent. Hence, forty-three per cent were born in the city.

*Place of Longest Residence.* The dominance of urban influence on the rearing of the white spouses in these marriages is evidenced by the fact that seventy-six per cent of them lived in larger communities most of their lives.

*Religion.* Nearly all of the persons intermarried were Catholics, ninety-eight per cent of the whites and ninety-four per cent of the colored. This is slightly higher than the percentage of the total population that is Catholic, which in 1950 stood at 93.49 and is probably even lower today if the same trend prevails that has been observed for the past eighty years. Four per cent of the colored spouses were Protestant, and two per cent of the white ones. There were no Jews among the couples interviewed.

*Educational Level.* Thirty-six per cent of colored and thirty-one per cent of the whites went to no school at all. Fifty-nine per cent of the colored and fifty per cent of the white persons cross-racially married had attended primary school, completing between one and five years of formal education. Secondary school was attended by sixteen per cent of the whites and two per cent of the colored. Slightly more than one per cent of the colored and two per cent of whites had more than ten years of education.

*Class Status.* Among the persons interviewed, colored or white, husbands and wives, about forty-two per cent were in the lower-lower class; about forty-one per cent, in the upper-lower class; nearly eleven per cent, from the middle-class, and six per cent from professional or perhaps best defined as the upper-middle class. Since little sociological research has been done in Brazil on the area of social stratification, these findings rest on questionable assumptions.

*Previously Married.* For the great majority of the persons cross-racially married this was their first and only marriage. About ten per cent of the whites and eight per cent of the colored spouses were previously married.

*Age at the Time of Marriage.* The median age for all the husbands, white or colored, was 31.30 with a range from sixty-eight to sixteen years, while the median age for all wives was 23.5, ranging from fifty-two to fourteen years.

*Age Difference between the Spouses.* The span between the two median ages is 7.8 years, a considerable difference. The data on the ages of the intermarried spouses were analyzed to determine what percentage had a difference greater than ten years. It was found that in forty-two couples, or twenty-nine per cent, an age difference of ten years or more existed.

*Social Situation of their First Meeting.* The majority of the couples indicated that their first meeting took place in the home of their family or relatives. This number amounted to fifty-six per cent of the cases. In twenty-eight per cent it was casual—namely, on the street, in the park, a pick-up in a car or truck or the like. Seven per cent met for the first time at work. About nine per cent became acquainted at a public dance or similar situation.

*Form of Marriage.* In Brazil both a civil and religious marriage are required for law-abiding Catholics. The majority (sixty-seven per cent) of the couples were married both civilly and ecclesiastically. An additional nine per cent were married only by civil authority. Sixteen per cent were *amigada*, or common-law marriages.

*Number of Children.* A high fertility rate was found among the cross-racially married couples. Almost half, (forty-eight per cent), had four or more children. Only ten per cent had no children at all, while thirteen per cent had one child, eighteen per cent had two children, and eleven per cent, three.

*Duration of the Marriage.* Both the number of the children in the family and the durability of the cross-racial marriage point to a rather high stability. The median number of years for all the marriages observed by formal interview stood at 15.6, with a range from under one year up to sixty years.

*Marginality among the Children of the Intermarried.* The results of the MAPS projective test administered to a sample of twenty-four offspring of the intermarried couples indicated little

marginality in the children examined. The selection of the sample was hardly random. Availability and accessibility to opportunity guided the selection. Sixty-three per cent of the children showed practically no aggressiveness, hostility, or sense of rejection and another 12 per cent manifested only slight evidence of these. Another thirteen per cent manifested a strong aggressive tendency, while the remaining twelve per cent showed signs of rejection.

Under the assumption that the absence of marginality points to low racial pressure from the wider society on the interracially married family, those families in whose homes the MAPS tests were used showed evidence of the permissiveness for interracial marriage to be prevailing in their social milieu.

#### TOWARD A TYPOLOGY OF THE RACIALLY INTERMARRIED

On the basis of the data derived from the interviews with the interracially married couples, especially that contained in the final parts of the interview pointing to the quantity, origin, and quality of social pressures exerted on the intermarried, the following types of interracially married couples were generalized from these empirical data. These are set up not in the tradition of Weber's "ideal types,"<sup>10</sup> which were purely mental constructs set up to analyze social phenomena. Rather these are types, inductively arrived at, constructed from empirical data and offered as a kind of hypothesis to generalize specific data.

The pressures referred to included the following: a) those arising from the family of either bride or groom entering the interracial marriage, but especially from the family of the white spouse (avoidance of the wedding ceremony; reduced relations of the couple after marriage with the family of the white spouse compensated for by increased contact with the family of the colored spouse; pressure not to enter the marriage; resentment; ridicule; open objection; derogatory reference to color); b) the pressure exerted by the couple within their family relations (use of racial terms of ridicule when irritated; color a positive factor in their decision to marry; social climbing a motive in the colored spouse's decision; perception of pressure arising from the family of the other spouse); c) social pressure from friends and acquaintances (derogatory reference to the color of spouse; loss or cooling off of friendships; loss or decrease of invitations to

<sup>10</sup> See Nicholas S. Timasheff, *Sociological Theory* (New York: 1957), pp. 175-180.

homes of friends); d) pressures from the community (reluctance to appear together in public; decrease in social invitations; sensitivity to upper-class pressures; awareness of this pressure); 3) unconscious preference for the lighter child.

### 1. *Elysian*<sup>11</sup> Type:

Felippa and Adelino are apt representatives of the Elysian type of Negro-white intermarriage. They embody that "paradisaic innocence with respect to differences of race, that the people of Brazil have, which the people of the United States have somehow lost."<sup>12</sup> Filippa is a mulatto of light skin. She has markedly negroid facial features and kinky black hair. Her husband, a plumber's assistant, is dusky-complexioned. His features reflect his mixed Portuguese and Spanish extraction. His hair is black and wavy.

Located in one of Brazil's larger industrial cities, their home is a modest, stucco-covered, red-tiled, four-roomed dwelling with little ground around it. The rooms are small. Inexpensive but well-cared for furniture seems to give the rooms an over-crowded effect. On the wall facing the entrance is a small, brightly colored shrine to the Negro saint, St. Benedict, the Moor, surrounded by gaudy pictures of three other saints. The front room is both living room and dining room.

Filippa and Adelino were married twenty-nine years. The youngest of their six children, Costa, is seventeen years old. He is the only one still at home. The other two boys and three girls have already married.

Adelino, when he was approached for this interview, was at work with two of his sons and several neighbors unloading a truck full of second-hand lumber he was going to use to repair his fence and build some cupboards for the one married son's home.

Felippa and Adelino were married twenty-nine years. The youngest of festival of St. John the Baptist in June. Their courtship, begun in the conviviality of *Caipira*, lasted two months. They were married civilly and later in their parish church, Sao Jose. There was little difficulty in understanding each other. Both had about four or five years of education. The families of both were large, some of whom were domestic servants, others public functionaries in the police or fire department. The wedding was a major celebration well attended by the members of both families.

At first Felippa's family objected to the marriage, not on the grounds of racial difference, but because of her age. She was only sixteen and Adelino was twenty-five years old. Soon after the wedding was agreed upon, the objection was forgotten.

Both families frequently visited back and forth. They carried out projects together. There was apparently no pressure arising from their difference, whether it was brother or sister, friend or neighbor visiting them. When Adelino was questioned about the issue: "Did the color of your bride influence you in your decision to marry Felippa?"—his prompt reply was "Yes, I prefer a girl that is a little darker." And it was candid and guileless.

<sup>11</sup> The term "Elysian" is from the Greek and means paradisaic.

<sup>12</sup> Robert Park, "Introduction," in Donald Pierson, *op. cit.*, p. xix.



The *Elysian* type is the largest class and includes thirty-five per cent of the couples. It seems to be somewhat insulated from within and isolated from wide contact without. The fact that they have practically never experienced any racial prejudice from family, friend, acquaintance, or community is attributable to many factors. Some of these factors have tended to isolate them from those sections of society where there is a greater racial awareness. Many of them were either immigrants or second generation Brazilians. Almost all are in the lower socioeconomic stratum of society, where there is higher anomie and less pressure for social ascent.<sup>13</sup> Two-thirds were born in the country and a number were reared there too, and moved to the city later, where, as strangers, the social controls tended to be less effective for them than for life-long inhabitants.

Some factors operating from within tended to insulate them from racial prejudice when it did arise. Most of them never had any schooling at all. Very few attended school beyond the fifth grade. While the interracial sensitivity index for all the couples interviewed stood at .5918, theirs was less than one-fifth as high, despite the fact that they subjectively defined race more strictly than the average Brazilian.

In this class there is a high evidence of stability. The majority met their spouses in the family setting, were married before both civil and religious authorities, showed the second lowest difference in their ages. They are all professed Catholics. More than half have more than four children and have been married on an average of twelve years. Very few previously married. Many of them indicated better than average intelligence as evidence by their responses to questions, the detail with which they described the photographs in the IST test, and their ability to generalize racial issues.

Not a few when asked whether or not the color of their spouse was a positive influence in their decision to marry responded, "Yes, it was; I prefer a person of darker skin." A number of them thought it humorous, and genuinely so, that someone should take time out to inquire about such an obviously unimportant issue as race and race prejudice. The majority of them have relatives and regularly visited them and were visited by them.

While all five regions were represented in the class, the majority by far was found in Belo Horizonte and Salvador.

<sup>13</sup> Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure*, pp. 131-160.



Less than half of the group in this class involved a marriage between a white woman and a colored man. About one-third of the persons in these couples were of black color. At least a few of the whites were of Italian or German extraction.<sup>14</sup>

It would seem that it was this type that Robert Park was referring to when he spoke of that "paradisaic innocence" that characterizes Brazilian race relations. Certainly it is this type that is the prize of the Brazilian historian, the toast of the foreign travelers visiting Brazil, and the muse of the Brazilian lyricist and painter.

## 2. *Nesidic Type*; <sup>15</sup>

Jose, bedridden for more than twenty-five years, came from Portugal as a young man of twenty-eight years of age. When he left his father's little farm, it was the last time he ever spoke to any member of his family. When he arrived in Rio de Janeiro, he was alone. Except for several stevedores with whom he worked on the docks, he hardly knew anyone better than to bid the time of day or exchange a pleasantry.

When Maria smiled at him as he was enjoying his Sunday night "foot-ing" in the Largo de Machado, it was all that was needed. Sixty years ago they just began living together. Their house was a patchwork of flattened tin cans, precariously leaning main beams, dusty earthen floor. The furniture was unpainted makeshifts, boxes and crates serving as chairs, a barrel for a table. The two small rooms were filled. The lack of light seems to make them overcrowded. Jose was in bed. His face had a few days' growth of soft white hair, to which some tobacco clung.

Maria was still smiling. She announced that she was married to Jose for over sixty years, her eyes dancing with affection for her husband. How did they carry on, after Jose was injured in his job as a stevedore? Oh, he got a small compensation, and some government relief agency gave them enough to get along on. Occasionally she helped Mrs. Sampaio with her washing and cleaning, but she preferred to stay at home and look after Jose.

She simply laughed when she was asked about pressures coming their way from prejudice. It seemed like something of a novelty to hear about it. No, they never had any visitors except from the social assistance agency. No, none of her family came to the city when she came. Only once did she see any of her family after she was married.

Maria was an *escurinha*, a decidedly black girl, with kinky black hair, large lips, and flat nose with large nostrils. Neither she, nor Jose, ever attended school. Both were Catholics, but seldom attended church services. (She pointed with pride to the picture of Sao Jorge, killing the dragon. It was prominently displayed in the room on the wall opposite the entrance. Her eyes lighted up when she described her participation in the *Macumba* on the preceding Sunday evening.)

<sup>14</sup> In the case of one girl of German extraction she pointed out that every one of her brothers and sisters married with dark persons.

<sup>15</sup> The word "Nesidic" is derived from the Greek word for islet.

This little domestic island, perched precariously on a steep hillside of one of Rio's many *favelas*, was well insulated from the backwash of societal contact or comment. The social distance from neighbor and family was the earmark of this couple. Were there immense racial pressures existent in the wider society, Jose and Maria would have been insulated by their isolation.

This *Nesidic* type, is second in size, as about twenty-nine per cent of the couples interviewed fall within its extension. In many of its characteristics it resembles the first type described above. It is both better insulated from social pressures by a lower sensitivity and a higher isolation from those social controls that are the more important ones for society—namely, those intimate, primary, emotionally charged relationships such as are found in the family, the close friendship, the neighborly neighborhood. In this type the white person is a social isolate and thus feels racial prejudice where it exists only secondarily and in those contacts that cannot damage a persons feelings substantially.

The whites in this group are for the most part foreign-born or second generation Brazilians. They are three to one rural-born. Nearly half of them were also raised in the country and migrated to the city later. They are not only all in the lower-class, but two-thirds of them fall within the lower-lower stratum. This generally connotes high anonymity and very low social control resultant from the great social distance that characterizes people living in the *favelas*.

Four-fifths of them are Catholic, one-fifth, Protestant. The educational level is considerably lower than the first type with the vast majority not having attended school at all and only seven per cent having gone beyond fifth grade. Their subjective definition of race is on the average very close to the national mean, as is their sensitivity to an interracial situation. About one-third of these couples are in a common-law marriage by North American terminology; in Brazil, they are *amigada*, married neither in civil nor church ceremony and unbound by any automatic legal tie such as created in some states, by common-law here. Slightly less than a quarter of this group have been previously married. About one-third met casually in some public place. Also there is an average age difference between the husbands and wives close to ten years.

On the other hand there is considerable stability noted in couples of this type. Only one-fifth of the couples are childless and nearly one-third have four or more children. The average mar-

riage has lasted more than twelve years and ranged between one and twenty-five years.

The most characteristic feature is that the white persons in this type have no relatives, or at least no contact with any relatives. In the vast majority of these couples the husband is white and the wife is either black or a very dark mulatto. There is some indication that the marriage was entered into by the white person as a type of convenience or as a solution to the difficulty of securing a wife who becomes a servant of an ailing husband or who is satisfied with a modicum of goods.

Several of these men were bedridden. Some were very much older than their wives, who served as nurses and maids to them. Not infrequently the colored wife was considerably more intelligent than her white husband.

Regionally they are nearly equally distributed among all five with Sao Paulo's sample considerably smaller.

The absence of racial pressures in this type of intermarriage is real, but it appears more accidental than substantive to the social fabric of the marriage.

### 3. *Ethnokedic*<sup>10</sup> Type:

Silvio and Carmen are a reflection of the ethnokedic type. Carmen is an attractive mulatto of medium-colored skin, straight black hair, and intermediate features. Silvio is a Luxo-Brazilian of olive-hued skin, black hair, and pencil moustache.

Their apartment is located in the newly-built government projects for workmen. The building is a very long, plain, stucco-covered structure, located in the industrial part of Porto Alegre. Neatly, if modestly furnished, the rooms are small but adequate. There is indoor plumbing and separate bedrooms for the boys and the girls.

Silvio was working as assistant manager of the government-built cinema, located near the apartment where he now lives. It is operated for the workmen of that area. Carmen was an usher in the theatre when he first noticed her. He invited her for a Guarana after the show was over. They started seeing each other on Sundays. Then they arranged that their working days fell together.

When Silvio's mother, partly German and partly Brazilian, discovered that Silvio was dating a mulatto, she chided him. When this failed to have effect, she arranged to have Marta and Maria come for dinner and tried to interest Silvio in one of them. When Silvio spoke of marriage, she said she would not attend any wedding of one of her sons to any *mulata* and that her family would have nothing to do with it. She did not; but Silvio's oldest brother was his best man and his older married sister came to both the

<sup>10</sup> "Ethnokedic" is made up of two Greek roots: the one means race and the other stung by, irritated or troubled by.

nuptial Mass and the celebration at Carmen's home. His mother still does not visit them and is very cool with Carmen and curt with Silvio.

Silvio and Carmen now have five children, some of them apparently white, one a *moreno* and the others light mulattoes. They are somewhat sensitive to color, especially the one girl who is more pronouncedly negroid in facial features and hair type. On the MAPS projective test Marguerita showed unusually high on the rejection factor.

Silvio and Carmen were both aware of the mother's pressure. They seldom visited her home. Most of his former friends showed little or no change of attitude toward him or his family. A few remarks were passed before he married Carmen, but now he does not remember hearing any for more than five years. Perhaps it is because he unconsciously avoids those contacts.

They seldom go out much together, since they mostly entertain at home, and so many children keep them at home.

Silvio had seven years in school, the last two in a trade school. Carmen went through primary school. Both have lived in the city all their lives.

While racial pressure has been felt and is still felt, this ethnokedic couple lives an almost normal life.

The *Ethnokinedic* type is the third largest group (sixteen per cent) of the interracially married couples. It is characterized by high stability and social adjustment in spite of considerable social pressures exerted by family, friends, and the community.

The *Ethnokinedics* were native Brazilians, city-born and city-bred. While they are mostly found in the lower-class, they are in the upper-lower stratum which includes many skilled workers and a few are in the middle-class. Their educational level is considerably higher than either of the two earlier types. At least one-third has gone to secondary school and a few beyond that. Practically all of the whites have had some formal education, while about one-fifth of the colored persons had none.

While their definition of race is slightly stricter than the average Brazilian, their sensitivity to an interracial situation is markedly lower. They are all Catholics, all married both in civil and religious ceremony, and show the least difference in their average ages. The majority of the couples met casually on the street or at a public dance. This type is largely composed of white husbands with mulatto wives, although in several of the cases the wife is black.

They demonstrate a distinctly stable pattern in their marriage. The average has lasted twenty years. They all have children, the majority having four or more. None of them have been previously married.

In this type there is considerable awareness of the pressure of their family upon their marriage, but it manifestly failed to disturb the harmony of the marriage. Generally the resistance was centered in one, not all, of the relatives. Several of these colored persons indicated that they married to secure social amelioration, to better their social position. A number of them noticed social pressures in the higher social circles into which they entered together.

In this group there seemed to be a higher social sensitivity, a better calibre of intelligence. Racial prejudice was felt by them, but not frequently nor intensely. All regions were represented in this type.

#### 4. *Ethnohaptic*<sup>17</sup> Type:

Dr. Jorge Araujo and his quiet, retiring, white wife Ruth live in a handsome corner house with an impressive approach, a marble-columned portico, and a carefully manicured formal garden. Dr. Araujo is perhaps the most famed trial lawyer in all of Brazil. He is a long-time member of the Faculdade de Direito, a leading citizen of some considerable political influence, a former president of the association for the cultural advancement of the black man. But most of all he is scholar. His private library is a point of civic pride and a mark of personal accomplishment. To have read and be able to discuss Dr. Araujo's treatise on the social influence of August Comte on the Brazilian national culture that appeared in last Sunday's Literary Supplement is a "must" for the highbrow of Belo Horizonte. His basic interest is his academic endeavor, his writing, his learned discussion of philosophical or literary fine points.

Dr. Araujo enjoys the kudos of both white and black colleagues. Leading citizens made a special point of crossing the street to shake his hand and be seen with him.

Dr. Araujo belongs to the legal society, the association for cultural up-lift involving the promotion of the fine arts, to the international relations forum, to the banker's guild. He doesn't belong to the Yacht Club, where the upper-class hold their carnival dances and debuts for their daughters. Questioned about whether he could belong, Dr. Araujo supposed he could, but he never tried. Did he and his wife go to other upper-class families' homes for dinner? Yes, of course.

Dr. Jorge is very dark. His lips and nose are distinctly negroid. His hair is short and kinky. When he met his wife Ruth at the university, he noticed that she had received little attention from other students. At first, he felt that his advances were repelled, but he interpreted this not as racial repulsion, but her natural bashfulness. He felt that he was only tolerated at first when he first visited with her middle-class family. Of course, the fact that he was already a successful lawyer and professor smoothed the way. Their wedding was not a "big, glamorous one." She suggested this,

<sup>17</sup> "Ethnohaptic" comes from the Greek words for race and bury.

and he readily agreed. He never did feel completely at home with some of her family. They never said anything, but there was always that reserve.

Their only child does not seem to mix too well with others. He prefers working in his father's library and hopes to follow in his footsteps as a scholar. Mrs. Araujo is an extremely quiet and retiring woman.

The *Ethnoaptic*<sup>18</sup> type, the fourth largest (twelve per cent) is marked by upper- or upper-middle class status in which a person of color, by achieving high social status, is in position to marry a white girl of upper social rank. This group is found in every region, but in very limited number. It is characterized in its relationships by racial sensitivity which is submerged.

This type had to be approached in the interview with great delicacy. However, it includes some of the most sophisticated informants on race relations, some of whom academically pursued the subject as a semi-professional interest and became focal points of leadership in their respective communities. They are marked by marginality.

While there are a few blacks in this group, the colored spouse is generally a mulatto, and in many cases a light one. They are generally Brazilian-born and of urban birth and background. The educational level of the colored person is markedly higher than that of their white spouse. Very frequently he is a man of professional standing.

All but a very few are Catholics. All were married in both civil and church ceremonies. Characteristically of upper-class society in Brazil they first met in the family circle, except a few who made their first acquaintance through occupational contact. They vary in age on an average of six years while the mean duration of their marriages is over thirteen years. Family size ranges from no children to more than four, but generally is smaller than the other three types of couples. There were few previous marriages among this group.

While the white persons in this type make a stricter definition of race, sensitivity to interraciality is not higher than average.

Very frequently this type includes highly trained persons of color who unconsciously avoid social situations that might prove to be awkward or uncomfortable. By reason of professional contacts which provide wide recognition and social prestige, any so-

<sup>18</sup> Dr. and Mrs. Araujo exemplify the ethnoaptic type. Among couples of this group, there is a tendency to bury or submerge into the unconscious mind the element of race or racial prejudice when it comes to the surface. Social etiquette bans any discussion of the subject except in the inner circle of the family and then only on rare occasions.

cial loss is compensated. Particularly it seems that visiting and socializing with others in their social stratum is done in a formal setting rather than one of an intimate family nature especially where heterosexual social commerce takes place.

The code of this type is to silence any reference to color or race. It is considered bad taste. However, among families of the upper levels of society, race and color in relatives, friends, especially friends one dates, is not frequently discussed in the inner family circle.

#### 5. *Ethnamynic*<sup>19</sup> Type:

Joao and Manuela may be called an ethnamynic couple. Manuela was a plain white girl, whose father often hired Joao and his truck to haul things both for the home and the farm. Joao, who is considerably older than Manuela, claimed it was love at first sight. He was thirty and she, nineteen. After he had come to the city, he remembered her. Six years after they first met, they were married.

It was not without objection. Manuela's father and her oldest brother were strong and insistent in their opposition, but her mother and sisters, seeing her age and her affection for Joao were able to create a permissiveness for the wedding.

Manuela's grandfather was an Italian. She finished primary school and had two more years' education than Joao. Joao was a dark mulatto with intermediate hair and features.

Now they have four children, ranging from three to twelve years. Apparently they feel and encounter little pressure from her family now. It was not only because they were living in the city, but things really underwent a change over the years. Her father never made any reference to the issue and seemed happy when they visited. He always had something for the children when he visited them.

Their home was in one of the poorer districts of the city, but it was in good repair and well cared for. The furnishings were of finished wood but bore the mark of excess in design characteristic of the upper-lower class. The house had four small rooms, well ventilated, lighted electrically, with running water. There was a small garden in the backyard.

There was little evidence of marginality in the personality as revealed by the MAPS projective tests given to their children.

The *Ethnamynic* type is the least numerous (eight per cent). The ethnamynics experience resistance to their marriage in the beginning but later the social pressure wanes and resistance lessens and at times even disappears altogether.

<sup>19</sup> "Ethnamynic" besides the word for race has the other Greek root meaning better. The ethnamynic type has as its characteristic the amelioration of an awkward racial situation. In the beginning there may be some opposition to the cross-racial element in a marriage, but time heals any wounds opened by the racial bias, and the sensitivity to the interracial element disappears on both sides.



They are usually city-born and bred. Several are second generation Brazilians. All are Catholics. Their educational level attained is better than average for the whites and lower than average for the colored. Generally they are members of the upper-lower, in a few cases lower-lower. They have a considerably stricter than average subjective definition of race and a near average sensitivity to interraciality.

In this type the difference between the age of husband and wife is one of the greatest with a mean of more than thirteen years. Most of them met for the first time in a family setting. Twice as many were civilly married than ecclesiastically. More than one-third had been previously married.

The average marriage lasted nearly twenty years with a fertility rate of more than four children. Couples of this type are found in Salvador, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo.

*St. Vincent Archabbey, Latrobe, Penna.*

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## NEWS OF SOCIOLOGICAL INTEREST

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SISTER MIRIAM, LYNCH, O.S.U.  
*Ursuline College, Cleveland, Ohio*

### DEPARTMENTAL NEWS

*Belmont Abbey College, North Carolina:* Guest speakers in the sociology department this past semester included Mr. Vernon Sawyer, Executive Director of the Charlotte Redevelopment Committee, Mr. Hunter Bumgardner, Director of the Gaston County Census, and Mr. Charles Jones, theology student at Johnson C. Smith University and leader of the sit-down demonstrations at lunch counters in Charlotte.

*Catholic University:* Dean C. J. Nuesse of the School of Social Science was elected to the Executive Committee and to the Committee on Graduate Study of the College and University Department of the National Catholic Educational Association at its meetings in Chicago, April 19-22, 1960. . . . Dean Nuesse received the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws and gave the commencement address at Merrimack College, North Andover, Massachusetts, on June 4, 1960. . . . The Bureau of Social Research is engaged in a study of the aging for the Wilmington, Delaware, diocese. . . . Dr. Mary Elizabeth Walsh received the "Evening Star" grant to carry on a study of the family

of the marginally employable. . . . Reverend Thomas J. Harte, C. Ss. R., was awarded an additional grant from the National Institutes of Mental Health to continue his study of the tri-racial isolate.

*Holy Family College, San Francisco:* Sister Miriam Auxilium, S. H. F., of the Sociology department, is a leader of two groups organized to help parents of children with special problems. The Helpers of the Holy Innocents bring together parents and friends of retarded or disturbed children to contribute to a better understanding of their problem and to develop ways and means of providing religious instruction for these children. A Saint Joseph's Work Group has been formed in cooperation with members of the Christian Family Movement and with the advice of Dr. Michael Klentzos, psychiatrist, and Miss Patricia Jones, psychiatric social worker, both from the McAulay Clinic. This group was designed to help parents whose children need psychiatric help.

*La Salle College, Philadelphia:* During the past year seven students participated in an undergraduate research project entitled "Student Opinion concerning the Problems of Higher Education." A questionnaire was distributed to students attending the 1959 national congress of the National Federation of Catholic College Students and to seniors at La Salle College. Striking similarities in student opinions were noted. The report will be available in mimeographed form. The undergraduate research laboratory will move to new quarters in the main building to be made available when the chemistry department moves to the new Science Center this fall.

*Marquette University:* Dr. Joseph McGee, Associate Professor of Sociology, is spending the summer in Ireland to continue his research on social legislation there, begun during the summer of 1953. He teaches social legislation at Marquette.

*Mount Mary College, Milwaukee:* After a tour of Belgium, Switzerland, and Italy, Sister Caroline Marie, S. S. N. D., of the sociology department will attend a summer session at Fribourg, Switzerland. Before returning home she will visit France and England.

*Saint Peter's College, Jersey City:* Under the chairmanship of Dr. John C. Schlereth, the sociology department has established a laboratory for sociological research training and analysis. Mr. Stephen D. Doyle is director of the laboratory and will conduct the course in research methods and data analysis. Mr. Donald C. Stewart has joined the department as a special lecturer. Formerly a parole officer at the U. S. Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia, and a U.S. Probation Officer since 1942, Mr. Stewart will offer a new course on Probation and the Treatment of Offenders.

*University of Notre Dame:* Dr. John J. Kane, head of the sociology department, reports that the Ford Foundation has provided a grant of \$5,000 for research in the systematic development of new concepts and the practices of delinquency prevention. Research will be carried on by Frank Fahey, Ph. D., an instructor in the department, and Gordon J. DiRenzo, a graduate assistant. It will be directed by Dr. Kane. . . . The Student Government of Notre Dame will sponsor a Symposium on Power in American Society to be

held on Tuesday, October 25, 1960, under the direction of Professor William V. D'Antonio of the sociology department. Featured speakers in the Symposium will be: Professors Robert Dahl of Yale University, Peter Drucker of New York University, and Delbert C. Miller of Indiana University.

*Villa Maria College*, Erie, Pennsylvania: Mr. Joseph Tascone, who has been on sabbatical leave during the past year to work on his doctorate in sociology at St. Louis University, will return to the College in September. Another faculty member, Sister M. Ann, S. S. J., received her Ph.D. in sociology from Catholic University this June. An abstract of Sister Ann's dissertation, "Informal Groups and Institutional Adjustment in a Catholic Home for the Aging," was published in *The Journal of Gerontology*.

Under the direction of Sister M. Wilhelmina, S. S. J., head of the sociology department, students who plan to go on for graduate study in social work have been engaged in field work. One student initiated and supervised play activities at the Erie Day Nursery. Three students assisted in the recreational program at the Sarah Reed Children's Home, a residence for disturbed children. In the third area, the Big Brother and Big Sister Movement, the work was carried on in connection with the local office of Catholic Charities and with the Juvenile Court of Erie County. Some of the students are continuing their service during the summer months.

The Reverend John J. Carroll, S.J., will be in the Philippines during the school year 1960-1961. He will undertake a study of the social origins of entrepreneurship in a developing economy. The research is being supported by a National Science Foundation grant and will provide material for his Ph.D. dissertation.

Lois Lundell Higgins will be a delegate to the Second United Nations Congress on Prevention of Crime and Rehabilitation of Offenders meeting in London, England, August 8 to 20. She is also chairman of the second International Meeting and Seminar of the International Association of Women Police (which she serves as president) to be held at Springfield, Massachusetts, September 12, 13, and 14.

The Reverend Cosmas Girard, O.F.M. of St. Bonaventure University, is spending July and August in Europe and the Holy Land.

Louis A. Radelet, formerly of the sociology department of the University of Notre Dame, and at present Director of the Commission on Community Organizations of the National Conference of Christians and Jews and Associate Director of the National Institute on Police-Community Relations at Michigan State University, wrote an article on "Police-Community Relations" published in the May, 1960, issue of *Social Order* and reprinted by the NCCJ.

John Kosa has returned to the Department of Sociology at Cornell where he is associated with the Cornell Study of Nursing.

Joseph L. Lichten's "Report from Poland" was published in the May, 1960, issue of *Jubilee*. Dr. Lichten is now director of the department of foreign affairs for the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'Rith.

# PROGRAM

## TWENTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONVENTION

### The American Catholic Sociological Society

#### Fordham University

CAMPUS CENTER, FORDHAM ROAD AND THIRD AVENUE  
BRONX, NEW YORK 58, NEW YORK

AUGUST 31-SEPTEMBER 2, 1960

All sessions will be held at the Campus Center, Fordham Road,  
Bronx, New York

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#### WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 31, 1960

8:00 A.M.

University Church: OPENING MASS for Living Members of the Society  
*Celebrant:* Rev. Terence Sullivan, O.S.B., St. Benedict's College, Atchison, Kansas.

9:00 A.M.

Main Lobby, Campus Center: REGISTRATION

10:00 - 12:00 A.M.

1. Ballroom: SOCIOLOGY AND THEOLOGY

*Chairman and Discussant:* Paul J. Reiss, Marquette University

*Paper:* Rev. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., Fordham University, "The Sociological Component in Theological Propositions"

2. Room 229: HIGH SCHOOL WORKSHOP

*General Chairman:* Sr. M. Chrysostom, O.S.F., St. Mary's Academy, Milwaukee

*Topic:* Population: Movement and Trends

*Chairman:* Rt. Rev. Msgr. John L. Voight, Secretary of Education, Archdiocese of New York

*Recorder:* Sr. M. Angelica, O.S.F., Alvernia High School, Chicago

*Panel:* Thomas Burch, Marquette University, "How Human Population Grows"

Rev. William Gibbons, S.J., Fordham University, "Population Trends and Future Resources"

John L. Waddleton, Chief Council of Industrial and Community Relations, Allis-Chalmers Co., Milwaukee, "Long Range Impact on American Industries"

Alba Zizzamia, Office of U.N. Affairs, N.C.W.C., New York, "Population Problems of Africa and Trusteeship Territories"

*Discussants:* Rev. Francis Babbish, S.J., Brophy Preparatory High School, Phoenix; Sr. M. Edwardine, S.S.J., St. Agnes High School, Rochester, N.Y.; Bro. Eugene Janson, S.M., St. Mary's High School, St. Louis

1:30 - 3:30 P.M.

1. Room 235: MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

*Chairman and Discussant:* Sr. Frances Jerome Woods, C.D.P., College of Our Lady of the Lake, San Antonio

*Papers:* Sr. M. Nicolana Speicher, Catholic Welfare Bureau, San Antonio, "Behavior and Attitudes of Parents with Children Having Functional Articulation Problems"

Bro. Gerald J. Schnepf, S.M., St. Mary's University, San Antonio, "Dating Practices and Patterns"

Margaret E. Donnelly, Hunter College of the City of New York, "In the Feminine Image: An Examination of the Female Role Orientation in Dating Behavior"

Rev. Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., Frank Avesing, and Dorothy M. Dohen, Fordham University, "Characteristics of Puerto Rican Marriages in New York City"

2. Room 229: COMMUNITY AND PARISH ANALYSIS

*Chairman and Discussant:* Rev. Joseph B. Schuyler, S.J., Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York

*Papers:* Rev. Terence Sullivan, O.S.B., St. Benedict's College, Atchison, Kan., "The Application of Shevky-Bell Indices to Parish Analysis in the Bronx"

Richard Lamanna, University of North Carolina, "Chelsea and Urban Renewal: A Case Study of Urban Renewal"

3. Ballroom: SOCIOLOGY AND THEOLOGY

*Chairman:* Vincent Mott, Seton Hall University and St. Peter's College

*Recorder:* Jean R. Hogenmiller, Catholic University of America

*Papers:* Sr. M. Roderic, F.S.P.A., Viterbo College, LaCrosse, "Social Theory"

Rev. Paul Facey, S.J., Holy Cross College, Worcester, Mass., "Social Research"

Rev. William T. Gaughan, C.M., DePaul University, Chicago, "Social Problems"

3:45 - 5:45 P.M.

Ballroom: DON LUIGI STURZO'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO SOCIOLOGY

*Paper:* Nicholas S. Timasheff, Professor Emeritus, Fordham University

*Discussants:* Robert M. MacIver, Professor Emeritus, Columbia University; Theodore F. Abel, Hunter College; Victor J. Gioscia, Fordham University

6:00 - 7:00 P.M.

Ramskeller, Campus Center: RECEPTION

6:30 - 7:30 P.M.

Faculty Dining Room, Campus Center: Executive Council Dinner Meeting

7:30 - 9:30 P.M.

Room 235: STUDENT SECTION

*Chairman:* Margaret E. Donnelly, Hunter College

*Papers:* Robert Grotemat, Arthur Mueller, Carl Reichwein, Thomas Carpenter, and Catherine Stage, St. Joseph's College, Rensselaer, Ind., "The Significance of Leadership as an Independent Variable in Determining the Success of Clubs" Frank J. Santora, John Cleary, and Rev. John Khengar, S.J., Fordham University, "Puerto Rican Youth and Mobility"

8:00 - 10:00 P.M.

Ballroom: FAMILY LIFE AND EDUCATION

*Chairman and Discussant:* Clement Jdrzejewski, St. Francis College, Brooklyn

*Papers:* Sr. Loretto Anne, S.L., Loretto Heights College, Colorado, "Role Definitions of Catholic Sister Educators and Expectations of Students and Their Parents in Selected Areas of the United States" Marie A. Corrigan, College of St. Catherine, St. Paul, "Role Definitions of Catholic Lay Teachers and Expectations of Students and Their Parents in Catholic School Systems in the United States"

## THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 1, 1960

8:00 A.M.

University Chapel: MASS for Deceased Members of the Society

*Celebrant:* Rev. Joseph F. Scheuer, C.P.P.S., Fordham University

9:00 - 11:00 A.M.

1. Ballroom: SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY

*Chairman and Discussant:* John D. Donovan, Boston College

*Papers:* Sr. Marie Augusta, S.N.D., Emmanuel College, Boston, "Theoretical Convergences in the Analysis of Social Change"

Bela Kovrig, Marquette University, "The Mertonian Analytical Scheme Related to Collective Deviancy in Transitional Societies"

2. Room 235: POPULATION

*Chairman and Discussant:* Rev. William J. Gibbons, S.J., Fordham University

*Papers:* Raymond H. Ptovin, Catholic University, "Human Fertility and the Common Good"

Donald N. Barrett, University of Notre Dame, "The Changing Composition of American Catholics"

Rev. John Khengar, S.J. and Lawrence Menezes, Fordham University, "Cultural Factors Affecting Reproductive Behavior in India"

Thomas K. Burch, Marquette University, "Prospects and Problems of Latin American Demography: The Venezuelan Example"

3. Room 229: HIGH SCHOOL WORKSHOP

*Topic:* Labor and Movement of Labor Forces

*Chairman:* Rev. Raymond Boulanger, S.M., Notre Dame High School, Harper Woods, Mich.

*Recorder:* Sr. M. Pancratia, O.S.F., Madonna High School, Aurora, Ill.

*Panel of Experts:* John C. Cort, Labor expert and author, Boston, Mass.; Bro. Gerald Schnepf, St. Mary's University, San Antonio, John Waddleton, Chief Council of Industrial and Community Relations, Allis-Chalmers Co., Milwaukee; Margaret Garrity, Executive Director, President's Committee on Government Contracts, Washington, D.C.

*Discussants:* Bro. Victor Naegel, Don Bosco High School, Milwaukee, Bro. Herold Bertram, St. Francis High School, Wheaton, Ill.; Sr. M. Gemma, H.H.M., Villa Marie High School, Villa Marie, Pa.; Rev. Thomas D. Hickey, St. Francis Minor Seminary, Milwaukee

11:15 - 12:45 P.M.

Ballroom: BUSINESS MEETING

1:00 - 2:45 P.M.

Ramskeller, Campus Center: OFFICIAL LUNCHEON

*Chairman:* John J. Kane, University of Notre Dame

*Welcome:* Rt. Rev. Msgr. Terence J. Cooke, Vice Chancellor of the Archdiocese, representing His Eminence, Francis Cardinal Spellman, Archdiocese of New York

*Welcome to the University:* Rev. Laurence J. McGinley, S.J., President, Fordham University

*Presidential Address:* Rev. John L. Thomas, S.J., St. Louis University

*Presentation of Awards:* Most Rev. John J. Wright, D.D., Bishop of Pittsburgh



3:00 - 5:00 P.M.

1. Ballroom: SOCIOLOGY OF RELIGION

*Chairman and Discussant:* Rev. Joseph H. Fichter, S.J., Loyola University of the South, New Orleans

*Papers:* John Kosa, Cornell University; Leo D. Rachiele, LeMoyne College; Cyril O. Schommer, S.J., LeMoyne College, "Family Background and Religious Attitudes of Catholic College Students"

Robert Brooks, O. Praem., St. Norbert's College, West De Pere, Wis. "Role Conflicts of Former Major Seminarian"

Samuel W. Blizzard, Princeton Theological Seminary, "A Theory of Lay Understandings of the Clergyman's Role"

Joseph W. McGee, Marquette University, "A Sanction for Human Relations"

2. Room 235: CONVERGENCE OF THEORY IN SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL WORK

*Chairman and Discussant:* Gilda Petraglia, Fordham School of Social Service

*Papers:* Charles O'Reilly, School of Social Work, Loyola University, Chicago, "Sociological Concepts and Social Work Theory"

Sr. Maria Mercedes, S.S.N.D., College of Notre Dame of Maryland, "Undergraduate Social Work Preparation Within the Sociology Department"

Rita McGuire, Fordham University School of Social Service, "The Curriculum Study: Implications of Social Science Concepts for Practice of Social Group Work"

James F. Haran, U.S. Probation Officer, U.S. District Court, Brooklyn, "The Amateur Bank Robber: A Problem in Corrections"

7:30 - 9:30 P.M.

1. Ballroom: INDUSTRIAL SOCIOLOGY

*Chairman and Discussant:* Joseph P. Fitzpatrick, S.J., Fordham University

*Papers:* John E. Hughes, University of Notre Dame, "The Perception of the Influence of Parental Occupational Prestige"

Frank A. Cizon, Loyola University, Chicago, "Role of Perception of Foremen in an Industrial Authority Structure"

2. Room 235: MEDICAL SOCIOLOGY

*Chairman and Discussant:* Julian Samora, University of Notre Dame

*Papers:* Chester A. Jurczak, Duquesne University, "Impact of Ethnicity on Health Practices and the Use of Health Facilities"

Julian Samora and Richard Larson, University of Notre Dame, "Level of Vocabulary Knowledge Among Hospital Patients"

## FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 2, 1960

8:00 A.M.

University Chapel: MASS OF THANKSGIVING

*Celebrant:* Rev. Joseph E. Schuyler, S.J., Loyola Seminary, Shrub Oak, New York

9:00 - 11:00 A.M.

## 1. Ballroom: SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

*Chairman and Discussant:* Jack H. Curtis, Marquette University

*Papers:* Vincent M. Murphy, Canisius College, Buffalo, "The Concept of Anxiety: Meeting Ground for Psychologists and Sociologists"  
Edward Glass, College of the Holy Cross, "Anxiety and Social Role"

## 2. Room 235: DOMINANT—MINORITY GROUP RELATIONS

*Chairman and Discussant:* Rev. Albert S. Foley, S.J., Spring Hill College, Ala.

*Papers:* Frank J. Fahey, University of Notre Dame, "Variables in the Maintenance of a Negro Catholic Parish in the North"

Richard A. Lamanna, University of North Carolina, "The Influence of Place of Residence on Attitude Toward School Desegregation"

Francis J. Demers, Fordham University, "The Extent of Integration in a Racially Mixed Catholic Parish and the Role of the Church in the Integration Process"

11:15 - 1:15 P.M.

## 1. Ballroom: CRIME AND DELINQUENCY

*Chairman and Discussant:* John J. Kane, University of Notre Dame

*Papers:* Hugh P. O'Brien, University of Notre Dame, "Crime, the Criminologist, and the Law"

William Bates, Washington University, St. Louis, "Parental Models of Adult Prisoners: a Thirty-Year Follow-up of Former Problem Children"

William T. Liu, and David H. Fosselman, C.S.C., "Patterns of Gratification, Self-Concept, and Goal Orientation in Deviate Behavior: A Functional Analysis"

## 2. Room 235: CULTURAL ANTHROPOLOGY

*Chairman and Discussant:* Sr. M. Inez Hilger, O.S.B., College of St. Benedict, St. Joseph, Minn.

*Paper:* W. F. Albright, Chairman Emeritus of the Oriental Seminary, Johns Hopkins University, "Modern Anthropology and the Study of the Ancient Orient"

1:30 - 2:30 P.M.

Faculty Dining Room, Campus Center: LUNCHEON for newly elected members of the Executive Council

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## BOOK REVIEWS

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DONALD N. BARRETT

*University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana*

*Sociological Studies of Health and Sickness.* By Dorrian Apple, Ph.D., editor. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, Inc., 1960. Pp. x+350. \$7.50.

*Sociological Studies in Health and Sickness* is subtitled "A Source Book for the Health Professions." Its varied content has stimulating and helpful information and should prove particularly interesting to physicians, nurses and social workers who lack extensive training in sociology.

Apple has been discerning in his choice of articles and a high level of quality is maintained throughout. The major emphases are socio-psychological and psychiatric. The articles by Simmons, Gould and Jewell add a cultural dimension by their study of modern primitives. Zborowski uses this same approach advantageously in studying the cultural response to pain among modern ethnics.

The articles are grouped in four areas: Recognition of Need for Health Care, the Patients' Point of View, Psychological Processes in Illness and the Organization of Hospitals. The discussion at the beginning of each section should prove useful to the non-sociologist in gaining insight into the social implications of the articles which follow. The range of articles in each section should provide the reader with an understanding of the sociological climate of illness and, what is perhaps even more important for professional growth, give him a heightened sensitivity to the uses of sociological knowledge in his professional contacts.

The value of the anthology for the health professionals could be enhanced by the addition of a section devoted to the sociological aspects of the health professions themselves. Robert K. Merton's *The Student Physician* is but one example of the provocative studies in this area.

*Sociological Studies in Health and Sickness* can be used as a profitable addition to the reading for social psychology courses, for students of social work and nursing. All the health professionals should find it rewarding reading. The sociologist will be gratified with the range, depth and quality of the research in medical sociology that it brings to their attention.

SISTER MARY CHRISTOPHER O'ROURKE, R.S.M.

*Salve Regina College, Newport, Rhode Island*

*The Church and the Suburbs*. By Andrew Greeley. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1959. Pp. xviii + 203. \$3.50.

Amid some friendly but slightly cynical gossip about a mutual friend who has produced several books a cleric friend recently quipped: "There is nothing to getting your name on a literary shelf. Look at Father X! He needed only a good scissors, a quick eye, a pot of paste and a publisher looking for some risks. Presto! He is an author."

The remark was entirely without bitterness and in the spirit of good-natured banter. With somewhat the same spirit and certainly without bitterness this reviewer would recommend *The Church and the Suburbs* in a similar context.

Father Greeley's work is eloquent, if one considers the liberal use of professional sociological idiom without its logic, method or research interest, as eloquence. The free use of quotation, with and without the usual symbols to identify, implies agreement with the recognized sources and opinions, places the author and makes the reader feel definitely *au courant*. This is moderately effective propaganda and makes both author and certainly the reader really up-to-the-minute, especially when for one reason or another these cannot enjoy the pleasures or the responsibilities of original if not thorough-going research in an area. And anyway! This is much more taxing to the imagination, trying on the nerves, and emptying of the pocketbook than the quote, paste and publish techniques.

The pages and chapters of *The Church and the Suburbs* is excellent evidence of the fact that its author (and probably the publisher too) is an avid reader of the current best sellers constructed in the latest sociological images. He knows and has allowed himself to be permeated with the thoughts and perceptions of the Riesmans, the Herbergs, the Lipsits, and the Marquands. So colored and transformed, he has looked hard at his own experience in a Chicago suburban parish, watched, clipped, and presto! The book.

Please do not suppose that this makes the book less worth reading. Quite the contrary. If one can read and enjoy the Sunday supplements, one will certainly enjoy this more. Especially if researchers are tired of their researchings, and teachers are tired of their teaching, they will find here something of a pick-me-up. Father Greeley's assessments of the problems of religion in the suburbs are undoubtedly a crystalization of a literature otherwise quite sophisticated and complex. They are written out in a manner that not only the general reader but local chancery offices will give them official recognition, if not active endorse-

ment, organizational support and perhaps someday even budgetary affluence.

The plan of the book follows the line of a problems course. There are chapters giving the quick eye to structures of the city, husband and wife roles, child and adolescent perplexities, the treasures and tears of community, humanism, prosperity, leisure, the psychology of the beat. One can only suspect that it is in the nature of the problems approach and the facility of glimpsing techniques that some of the really deep problems of the church in suburbia are left unstated. And certainly one should never raise problems of sampling in considering the typicality of south Chicago suburbs!

One may certainly find hope here that this will whet another appetite for serious research or at least open a mind or two to its possibilities.

JOSEPH F. SCHEUER, C.P.P.S.

*Fordham University, New York 58, New York*

*Behavior of Industrial Work Groups: Prediction and Control.* By Leonard R. Sayles. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1958. Pp. viii + 182. \$4.75.

A few years ago it was assumed that an industrial enterprise could maximize output simply by giving intelligent consideration to engineering specifics. This viewpoint was challenged by Elton Mayo's "discovery" of the work group and of the "human element" as influences upon industrial productivity. These concepts, and the line of inquiry they promoted, have resulted in the rapid extension of our knowledge concerning the factors which influence work behavior. Personal motivation, leadership, morale and group identification are now accepted as being more important in explaining worker efficiency than engineering considerations. At times, the impression is given that the technological environment of work has little, if any, significance; just as it was once assumed that the "human element" was a negligible factor in productivity.

This pattern of conceptual breakthrough followed by an intensive utilization of the explanatory power of the new concept seems typical of scientific progress. When a new conception is advanced which appears to explain previously inexplicable phenomena it is received with an enthusiasm proportional to the illumination it provides. Unfortunately, the enthusiasm for the conception frequently continues even when it has clearly reached the limit of its explanatory potentialities. At that point new concepts are necessary for a breakthrough to a further understanding of the phenomena under study.

The work under review seems to provide a potential basis for a new conceptual breakthrough in the study of industrial behavior. Sayles, while he readily admits the influence of the "human element" in the pattern of work behavior, takes as his starting point the observable variations between work groups in their general behavior patterns and seeks his explanation for these differences in the influence of the technology of the plant—the way jobs are distributed and flow into one another—upon intra and intergroup behavior.

On the basis of a qualitative analysis of about 300 work groups, the author posits the existence of four fundamentally different types of work groups which differ significantly in the general behavior patterns which they manifest. He calls these servative. These differential patterns comprise differences in the patterns: 1. Apathetic; 2. Erratic; 3. Strategic; and 4. Congroup's overall level of grievance and pressure activity; in the number of unplanned and spontaneous outbursts; in the degree of internal unity manifested; in the degree of participation in union activity; and in management's evaluation of the group members as satisfactory employees. In his between plant comparisons, Sayles finds groups in different concerns exhibiting strikingly similar patterns of behavior. The Erratic groups, for example, comprise situations in which almost everyone has an identical or nearly identical task. Further, the technological basis requires that the workers interact with one another in the work process. This type of group exhibited a typical pattern of behavior including: 1. the tendency to be easily aroused to grievance activity; 2. the development of highly centralized leadership; and 3. a high level of activity in the organizational phase of the union. At the same time these groups exhibited poorly controlled pressure tactics, inconsistent behavior, and starting conversions to good relations with management. The other groups are similarly described in terms of their technological composition and general behavior pattern.

When the author attempts to relate these differences in work group behavior to various factors associated with their internal organization and intergroup relations, he offers the general conclusion that a group's behavior in the plant is a product of its inherent ability to function in a certain way. That is, the internal structuring of the work operations have a significant influence upon the behavior characteristics of the group. The relations prescribed between group members by the flow of the work processes are a critical variable in shaping the internal social system of the group and its consequent behavior pattern.

Space does not permit the detailing of the many suggestive

hypotheses and significant insights which are offered in this work. One is compelled to emphasize that it will be worth the intensive study of anyone with an interest in the area of industrial behavior. Further the author implies that the formulations presented herein may very well serve as a basis for the prediction and control of work group behavior. Not only does this work threaten to spark new lines of investigation into the phenomena concerned but it can be offered as a top notch example of the type of qualitative exploratory research which so frequently results in new conceptual approaches to research materials.

JOHN E. HUGHES

*University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana*

*Social Work in the American Tradition.* By Nathan Edward Cohen. New York: The Dryden Press, Inc., 1958. Pp. x+404. \$4.75.

A comprehensive, objective analysis of social work is presented in the context of the rise of American civilization. The author describes how the development of social work was influenced by the political, socio-economic, and scientific forces in each of the main historical periods of this nation. It is interesting reading, indeed, how social work reflects in itself the conflicting viewpoints and value-systems held by heterogeneous peoples and by dominant power structures.

There were highpoints in its history, when social work acted as the social conscience of the nation striving to bring democratic ideals closer to realization and there were periods of retreat (into the Freudian harbor), when times demanded aggressive leadership in the solution of social issues. Regrettable was the severance from sociology in the twenties, which could have been a fruitful source for earlier understanding of the dysfunctioning of social institutions.

The development of education for social work, its progress and its errors, are adequately presented. Also the striving of social work toward professionalism is very thought-provokingly discussed.

While the book begins with: Humanitarianism in Search of a Method, (Chap. 1), has as its halfway point: Social Work in Search of a Method, (Chap. 5), it ends most challengingly with: Dominant Themes in the Philosophy of Social Work, (Chap. 9), which might as well have been called: social work in search of a unifying theory, which would give a firm base to its existing unity of purpose.

The perspective given by this excellent contribution to the social work literature should be most valuable in charting the



future course for social work in the ongoing discussions by educators and practitioners alike of the Curriculum Study by the Council on Social Work Education.

This book is must reading for the members of the profession and deserves also the widest circulation among non-professionals.

KATHARINE RADKE

*Saint Louis University, St. Louis 3, Missouri*

*Marriage and the American Ideal.* By Floyd M. Martinson. New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1960. Pp. xii + 491. \$5.50.

This volume is explicitly denominated as a functional textbook, which is defined as "a book designed to facilitate human action" (vii). To obviate the criticism of overt or covert propaganda Martinson expounds two sets of principles. First, in agreement with the recommendations of the informal group of American sociologists now exploring the postulates of the discipline and also in agreement with Furfey's metasociological analysis in *Scope and Method of Sociology*, the author explicitly states some basic assumptions about the nature of man. Most interesting are the principles that people "have the capacity to make decisions and choose values and goals for living, and that people are at least in part rational creatures and choose values and goals on the basis of knowledge and insights available to them." The implications of these principles are carried through logically and thus, contrary to much deterministic as well as psychoanalytically oriented works, man is recognized as "aware of himself and capable of knowing right from wrong" (p. 9). Man is also defined as idealistic and striving for something beyond the attainment of physical satisfactions.

Second, the author self-consciously explores the alternatives open to preparation-for-marriage instructors. Teaching "facts" is rejected as a teaching device, for facts do not speak for themselves, but require interpretation. Reporting on studies of "happy" or "adjusted" families is considered inadequate, since "only a small and nonrepresentative sample of marriages has been studied" (p. 15). The method of dealing with values in Martinson's approach consists in the use of the American Ideal—belief in the dignity, freedom and equality of man, the core value complex against which to judge the efficacy of choices in dating, marriage and family social systems. The vagueness of this design, the gaps in its linkage with empirical findings, and the lack of scientific research in many relevant areas are all admitted by the author.

In spite of this admirable orientation, it is doubtful that the effort succeeds. The ethical term, "should," crops up frequently

when evidence on the dominance of certain American values is sparse or completely lacking. Chastity prior to marriage, or its opposite, for example, should be "a decision democratically arrived at" by couples, according to Martinson, although he admits that neither of the "responsible marriage models—the Judaic-Christian or the rationalistic—grants special privileges to either sex . . . outside of marriage" (p. 242). Also the nature of values and measurement problems are not theoretically explored or considered integral to this work.

The strengths of this text, however, far outweigh the deficiencies which may be argued here. A useful work must meet the criteria of being broadly informative without being pedantic, provocative without being extreme, and sensitive and purposeful without being doctrinaire. Martinson has met these criteria in exceptional degree. His analysis of the Judaic-Christian marriage model, for example, shows breadth and depth of understanding, e.g. the works of Mihanovich-Schnepp-Thomas, Casserley, John L. Thomas, Cervantes and Zimmerman, etc. The sensitivity to variations in value sets, e.g. by Protestants, Catholics and Jews, by differing personalities in husbands and wives, can be most appreciated by instructors beset by equally doctrinaire Catholic or secular authors. The family cycle, analyzed in three major sections corresponding to the mate-selection system, the marriage system, the family system, betrays little of the sociologist's penchant for jargon and much insight in such topics as the "meaning of love," "the beloved," "maintaining the marriage," "the adolescent in the home," etc. The dangers and problems of steady dating and also the analysis of parent-child communication carry special significance for value-oriented analysis.

However, several vital areas, such as inter-institutional integration (church, school, family), come in for only short treatments. The number of pages devoted to sex reflects the extensive literature and disproportionate interest of writers in this field. The concluding chapter returns to the problem of unity in marriage in paradoxical opposition to individual freedom and self-realization. Should this unsolved problem be a major characteristic of our dating, marriage and family systems, as Riesman and Foote and Cottrell insist, then Martinson has added even more insight in a family text which already has many new departures from standard forms.

SISTER MARY JULIUS PEPPER, B.V.M.

*Bishop Garcia Diego High School, Santa Barbara, California*

*Juvenile Delinquency: Its Nature and Control.* By Sophia M. Robison. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1960. Pp. xiii + 546. \$6.75.

To find a book useful as a text-reference, as a fine survey of extensive literature and as instigator of new ideas is rare indeed. Robison has approached these objectives more closely than any single volume now in print. Some teachers would rather not place this work in the hands of an undergraduate for fear that the constantly critical approach to all existing researches would encourage a negative attitude toward the study of delinquency. On the contrary, the instructor with faith in the student and with the recognition that self-criticism is a necessary prerequisite for the discipline's progress could find no better substance than this clearly and logically developed study of delinquency.

The questions which have bothered researchers, probation officers, agency workers and all of us are faced squarely. The very definition of delinquency constitutes as difficult a problem as telling whether it is increasing. Comparison of American and foreign studies and programs for delinquents in addition to evaluation of central register systems help to give some tentative answers. Part Two examines "Theories of Cause," including the classical, neo-classical, clinical, psychological, sociological (ecology, role and class, family, gang, school and mass media) and anthropological. Of special significance is the critical attempt to delineate the problems and future of casual theory in science. Part Three inspects the legal agencies for dealing with delinquents such as the police, the court, probation, psychiatric services and the Youth Correction Authority ideas.

Again using American and foreign reports, Robison devotes the fourth part to institutions for delinquents. Public and private, short and long term institutions, all come in for analysis and criticism. From the suggestion that the "social system" is a useful concept for institutional programming as well as analysis the author uses case materials, research reports and evaluative commentaries to bolster the view that criticism can and must be constructively and theoretically oriented. The concluding part of this work highlights prevention in the forms of punishment, community planning, increased services to individuals and community efforts to deal with the gang problem.

Of special value in Robison's contribution is the forthright and constant evaluation of theories and programs. Also court judges and psychiatrists, who have all too often been held to be critically untouchable, are shown to merit the same measures of judgment as probation officers, teachers, case workers and agency personnel. A recurrent theme in evaluating the success-

failure of programs is the reference to the age-cohort "at risk" (toward delinquency), rather than simple statements of rise or fall in police cases after a change is introduced. Much of the recent work in the Juvenile Delinquency Project of the City of New York is incorporated effectively, e.g. Monsignor Paul Hanley Furfey's study of the Christian Brothers' Lincoln Hall and the institutions under the Good Shepherd Sisters.

Unfortunately small items on occasion mar the smooth and clear presentation, e.g. "the neo-classicist considered him (the individual) the product of *hereditary* social forces . . ." (p. 59), and in the New York City Youth Board Study for prediction-testing 58% are identified as negro, 18% as Puerto Rican and 24% as white (p. 84). It is also clear that the author is unfamiliar with the studies of religion and delinquency which have appeared in recent years, especially those in this journal.

The pains-taking efforts of the author otherwise commend this work to both teachers and researchers. Further, the point of view can be readily appreciated by all who not only study children as "subjects," but also as persons.

"... the various disciplines most nearly agree . . . that *some form of family disorganization* is a factor in delinquency—usually the failure of parents to give their children the two things that they need most: the *assurance of continuing love, and moral discipline* made acceptable by love" (p. 529).

DONALD N. BARRETT

University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana

*Contemporary Theory in International Relations*. Edited by Stanley Hoffmann. Prentice-Hall, Inc., Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1960. Pp. x+293. \$4.95.

Students of international relations, particularly those concerned over methodological shortcomings, are sure to find this work stimulating and valuable. Pleading for greater effort in developing a "general empirical theory" of international politics, Prof. Hoffmann convincingly rejects as inadequate most contemporary theoretical approaches. He proposes instead two "directions" for organizing research in this area: that of Raymond Aron's "historical sociology" using comparisons of historical situations, systems, etc. (pp. 174-175), and that of building "relevant utopias" from normative as well as empirical elements (p. 189). He urges the aspiring theorist to be honest in admitting his own guiding philosophical values, to draw his working concepts as much as possible from the field of politics,

and—perhaps most significant—to avoid a strict distinction between the “purely scientific” and the “normative.”

*Contemporary Theory in International Relations* is divided into approximately 60 pages of commentary by the author and 16 articles or extracts from more lengthy works by outstanding proponents of various points of view. These selections present Morgenthau's “realist” theory which depends almost exclusively on power politics as the key to international behavior; Kaplan's “systems theory”—termed by Prof. Hoffmann as a “huge misstep in the right direction” (p. 40)—which borrows from the methodology of natural science; and the “unifying concepts” approach employing such devices as “equilibrium” or “decision-making” as analytical tools. Also well represented is the historical approach with selections by Carr and Wolfers as well as Aron.

Prof. Hoffmann has included excellent bibliographies for those who wish to probe further into the problem.

DONALD E. SMITH

Washington, D.C.

*Philosophy of Labor.* By Remy C. Kwant, O.S.A. Pittsburg: Duquesne University, 1960. Pp. iii + 163. \$5.25.

A century has lapsed since Karl Marx published the first philosophy of labor. In spite of the fact that his totalitarian views have often been criticized, very little has been done to offer a positive reply to Marx's philosophical ideas. Father Kwant has written one of the most lucid analyses of Marx's ideology to appear in the United States while presenting a provocative synthesis of a philosophy of labor for the twentieth century.

Father Kwant describes the paradoxes of labor. He raises the questions “Has labor always had a paradoxical character? Does it always contribute to the liberation of man, but in another sense restrict his freedom? Did the working man always possess power, but still remain powerless? Is the paradox of labor something which necessarily results from the human condition, or is it characteristic only of modern labor?” Thought provoking answers are found in chapter one.

An excellent presentation of Karl Marx's totalitarian philosophy of labor is presented in chapter three. The author traces Marx's dependence upon the philosophy of Hegel; why Marx in his search for the meaning of history selected “the means of production” as the core idea in his philosophy; as well as the concomitant conclusions which flow from his major premise, i.e., human history is materialistic, the class struggle will continue indefinitely; and ultimately a classless society will evolve.

Father Kwant then develops his concept of labor which is defined as a social category—a social situation in which human activity is involved. To adequately comprehend the author's presentation it becomes imperative for those interested to read chapters four and five.

The chapter on questions concerning the labor world further demonstrates the author's grasp of his subject. This small volume deserves a wide circulation among sociologists, and economists, particularly at this time in our history when values and standards appear to have evaporated.

WALTER L. WILLIGAN

*St. John's University, Jamaica 32, New York*

*The Chinese Family in the Communist Revolution.* By C. K. Yang, Cambridge Massachusetts, 1959. Pp. xiii + 246. \$6.00.

This study, under the joint financial sponsorship of the Center for International Studies of Massachusetts Institute of Technology, the Trustees of Lingnan University (China), the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Social Science Research Council, represents one of the rare recent attempts to investigate some specific aspects of social change in modern China, particularly the period of the Communist regime.

In the study of family change, the author follows the structural-functional conceptual framework. The accent is on the change of status relationships from a society with clan as its core unit to a society with enormous state authority over its citizens. As such, this book makes a significant contribution in the general field of family sociology. It also can be viewed as a continuation of Marion J. Levy's earlier work, *The Family Revolution in Modern China* (Harvard University Press, 1949). In addition to this, Dr. Yang shows the background of social change in Communist China and how changes took place.

The popular image of the unusual stability of the Chinese family prior to the Communist regime is pointed out as erroneous. The revolution of 1911 under the direction of the Nationalist Party, coupled with the wide spread of Western ideology and the introduction of technological culture, had weakened the traditional family system. Significantly enough, changes under such conditions took the form of structural alteration; i.e., changes in status relationships between generations and between sexes. Much of the family's functions, during the Nationalistic period, however, remained the same. (This point was not brought forth explicitly, but this assumption is well supported by Dr. Yang's data). The real change of the family's functions did not take place until other institutional changes occurred.



Outstanding in the thesis is the fact that changes were inevitable under the new political and ideological systems and although they emerged during the early years of the Republican period, they only became crystallized after the 1917 Renaissance (commonly known as the New Culture Movement). The Communist regime merely helped the acceleration of the process through legal sanctions. The author believes that the impact of industrial culture, rather than the Communist ideology itself, is the primary cause of change—an assumption very much in line with the late Professor Ogburn. The author did not reveal any fact which might indicate changes contrary to what are normally expected. Examples are: the change of parental authority, decreased male dominance, and the increasing importance of the state's role in family relations, marriage registration required with local civil authorities for the first time in China), etc. Similarly, free choice based on mutual attraction of mates is legally protected. Significantly but not unexpectedly, legal age for marriage for both sexes has been raised. The only revealing element in this report is the fact that even among Party members, there has been reported a great deal of resistance toward the new family concept. Consequently, Party hierarchy frequently issues statements to "educate" members of the rank and file of the "new order." The author specifically points out that even under the most militant commune system, the family is still regarded as the basic social unit.

The book is well organized and data well presented. There are a few limitations which reflect the general area of difficulties in attempting to do a research of this kind; and, as far as the author is concerned, such difficulties are unavoidable. For example, the period of Nationalist rule in China can best be analyzed by personal experience and a few limited statistics available only during the very early stage of the Republic. Data on family changes within the "red area" (a few rural counties located in the interior northwest part of China) are entirely lacking. The question as to what had happened to the family within the predominately rural red areas is unanswered. It would be interesting to compare changes during the Republican period and the Communist period under the same party leadership, but of different economic systems.

WILLIAM T. LIU

*University of Portland, Portland 3, Oregon*



*The Development of Social Thought.* By Emory S. Bogardus. New York: Longmans, Green and Company, Fourth Edition, 1960. Pp. x + 689. \$5.50.

Bogardus has made it clear in his Preface that this book is meant to be an introductory work designed to interest both the college student, regardless of his special interests, and the general reading public, who are desirous of acquainting themselves with social thought through the ages. He claims no more than that the material is presented in a descriptive, uncritical manner. This reviewer finds that Bogardus has not generally gone beyond the limits which he set for himself. Where he does, it is to include his own value biases, which, while not necessarily repugnant to the reader, leave much to be desired intellectually, e.g. in comparing Plato, Aristotle and Malthus on population theory, he says that "Malthus, however, was wiser than either Plato or Aristotle, for he observed that the cause which has the most lasting effect in improving the condition of the poorer classes is the conduct and prudence of the individuals themselves" (p. 224); or, "Birth Control . . . is a useful weapon against sexually brutal husbands . . . the gain may be more than offset by the opportunity which birth control gives to the irregular gratification of sexual impulses and by the resultant weakening of moral fibre" (p. 227).

Bogardus has added two new chapters to this Fourth Edition: one on Mukerjee, the renowned Indian sociologist and social philosopher, and the other on Howard Odum and his "folk sociology." The chapter on Mukerjee should be useful to Americans not familiar with his work. Nevertheless, it is unfortunate that Bogardus did not do more to bring his other chapters up to date. As they stand, many of them are now inadequate even as descriptive summaries. For example, in writing of neo-Malthusianism he leaves the reader with the population experts' prediction that the United States population may reach 175,000,000 or 200,000,000 in the next few decades "where it will remain for some time" (p. 227). Or again, Indian social thought does not proceed beyond Ghandi's early years, and Chinese and Japanese social thought are left at pre-World War II levels.

The sociologist will find little in this latest edition to recommend it for any but the most elementary college reading. He will be left just as uneasy as before at the somewhat superficial and often questionable summaries of the thought of the founding fathers, e.g. this reader was particularly disturbed about the treatment of Weber's sociology of religion and the onesided biased description of Weber's analysis of bureaucracy.

The final chapter, *Development of Sociological Thought*, offers something of the shotgun blast approach to the subject. Names and ideas are sprayed rather chaotically over the pages.

In summary, it must be noted that while the persons chosen to be included in this book are mainly sociologists or those considered to belong to this field, the treatment of them would make the book of most limited use beyond the most elementary course. We can say with Bogardus that "If the discussions in this book stimulate the student to make inquiries on his own initiative, they will have accomplished more than the author could have expected" (p. v).

WILLIAM V. D'ANTONIO

*University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana*

*Common Frontiers of the Social Sciences*. Edited by Mirra Komarovsky. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1957. Pp. 439. \$6.00.

Interdisciplinary research in the social sciences offers great promise for the further development of the scientific study of our society. Initial attempts at cooperation have resulted in considerable intellectual controversy within the several disciplines and between them. The result of this contention has been for the most part beneficial in an increased clarity of statement and sharpened lines of communication between investigation in different fields. In this symposium the interrelations of history, sociology, and economics in their study of social behavior and social institution are explored by means of reciprocal scrutiny of studies in overlapping areas of research. The chapters of the book consist for the most part of critical essays but there are in addition, three original monographs in which an interdisciplinary approach is exemplified.

The editor of this collection of essays and monographs has analyzed the materials to indicate those convergences between the disciplines which promise potentially fruitful interdisciplinary cooperation. Her analysis shows that empirical data accumulated in one field can be illuminated by concepts developed in another. Sociologists for example, have developed concepts of social class and social sub-cultures which have influenced the historians not only in the interpretation of their data but in the choice of the field of their investigation as well. Another convergence closely related to the first exists when concepts and hypotheses developed in one field open new problems and stimulate research in another. For example the sociologist's concepts of social class, social mobility, and child rearing in relation to culture become subjects which the historian may incorporate into his customary concerns with political life and mass behavior. In a

third type of convergence two disciplines bring their respective theoretical frameworks to the investigation of the same empirical problems as did the economists and the plant sociologists in their study of labor management relations. Another type of convergence is seen when one discipline adopts and attempts to adapt to its own uses a procedure utilized in another field adjacent to its own such as the case of questionnaires which may be highly structured in one field and adapted to use in an amateurish and haphazard manner in another. But another type of convergence related to the preceding may occur when one discipline adopts outright an entirely new method originally developed in another field. By adopting a new method a scientist acquires new data and these data may in turn require the formulation of new problems and the reformulation of concepts previously developed.

The promise and the fruitfulness of interdisciplinary research between sociology, economics and history are shown in this book. It will be useful for teachers in the social sciences and as supplementary reading for their students in some of the advanced courses.

RUTH REED

*The Catholic University of America, Washington 17, D.C.*

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## SHORT NOTICES

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*Readings in Sociology*, Second Edition. By Edgar A. Schuler, Thomas F. Hoult, Duane L. Gibson, Maude L. Fiero, Wilbur B. Brookhover. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1960. Pp. xxiv + 909.

Here we find a single volume with more essays (III) relevant to social questions than can be found anywhere at such a low price. The new edition has been accomplished by retaining 47 articles from the first edition and adding 64 new ones. After a prologue article drawn from Stuart Chase's exposition of social science in liberal education the volume is divided into ten sections which are designed to have correlation with existing texts. Thus we find between five to twenty-five articles grouped under such headings as: environmental factors, person and group, social organization: types of group relationships, social organization: collective behavior, social organization: stratification and mobility, institutions and associations, social organization: ecological, social processes, and social and cultural change. Four articles are added in an appendix dealing with: careers in sociology, sociologizing society, social work as a profession and sociologists invade the plant.

The authors explicitly state that the essays have not been selected primarily for students majoring in sociology or for professionals, but rather for the "wide audience of students of sociology generally" (v). This saving statement obviates criticism of the patent criteria implicitly used for many of the selections. Contemporary interest and popular appeal have clearly guided the selection of more than a few. It should be noted that their very popularity or "readableness" may well obscure the "sociological relevance" and purpose intended. Julian Huxley, for example, can scarcely be called a truly careful scientific analyst of population and resources issues. The use of an article on the Scopes trial as a propadeutic for recognizing that theory is always necessary for making facts meaningful has questionable *raison d'être*.

Any reviewer can raise questions about the wisdom of certain selections, but it is equally relevant to suggest the significance of what is left out. The areas of church, recreation and children, for example, obtain but brief space in comparison with the allotments to technical questions, adult problems and secular subjects. This was clearly and readily apparent to the authors in so far as the table correlating these readings with currently leading texts, e.g. by Rose, Broom and Selznik, Ogburn and Nimkoff, Fichter, Bierstedt, shows that substantial sections of these texts have no correlated readings in the present volume. However, none of these criticisms should detract from the great utility of most of these readings for general students in sociology.

*Nullity of Marriage*, New Edition. By F. J. Sheed. New York: Sheed and Ward, 1959. Pp.+129. \$3.00

With so much of the confusion about Catholic rules on divorce among social scientists today this little volume should provide a singular contribution to clarity. Yet this is not a book on divorce or marriage. It concerns itself only with those cases where marriage appears to be but is not, as determined by the law of the Church. Striking similarities are found between Church law, and the civil laws of both England and New York. The law of England says that marriage is a contract resulting in a status; status does not depend upon the will of the citizen, but upon the will of the State. Thus, unlike most contracts, marriage cannot simply be terminated by the consent of the parties. So also the Catholic Church says that marriage is a contract resulting in a relationship (more closely than father to son or brother to sister). The parties are free to make the contract, but once made, it results in a relationship which God alone can decide to terminate. It becomes clearly an over-simplification to say that marriage is a contract, if one wishes to portray the Catholic view.

The clarity of this cumulative legal logic is admirable and relevant to the problem of pointing out where certain family sociologists have misinterpreted the Church's position. The chapters on the authority of Church and State, the grounds of nullity, effects of a decree of nullity and dissolution of marriage have many points of contact with current sociological interpretation. Grounds for no marriage are found in such cases as the couple's denial of permanence and as their deliberate exclusion of children. Sheed has not written a polemic, but here we find in short space an eminent reference on thorny issues.

*The Foundation Directory*, Edition 1. By Ann D. Walton and F. Emerson Andrews (eds.) New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1960. Pp. lv+817. \$10.00.

A recurrent complaint among some social scientists refers to the lack of funds for work in their areas of interest. Sociologists are no exception. For this reason this directory should become a vademecum for many. In addition to providing a sourcebook of authoritative calibre the editors of this volume have included a valuable analysis of the number of foundations, assets and expenditures, geographical distribution, types, fields of foundation activity and the uses of the directory. The listings of foundations are made by states with correlative indexes by fields of interest and by persons in executive positions. It may be heartening to read that "Grant applications are the lifeblood of foundations, whose sole purpose is to find good recipients for their money", but it is somewhat disheartening to read that religion generally has received the smallest percentage of money in the surveys conducted to date. In many cases, however, this compilation of present addresses, officers, amount of assets and expenditures and present fields of interest should prove most helpful.

D.N.B.

#### PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

*(Listing of a publication below does not preclude its subsequent review).*

Adams, Richard N. and Jack J. Preiss (eds.), *HUMAN ORGANIZATION RESEARCH, FIELD RELATIONS AND TECHNIQUES*. Homewood: The Dorsey Press, 1960, xviii+456. \$6.95.

Anderson, Harold H. (ed.), *CREATIVITY AND ITS CULTIVATION*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1959, xiii+293. \$5.00.

Baraclough, Geoffrey, *SOCIAL LIFE IN EARLY ENGLAND*. New York: Barnes and Noble, 1960, xi+264. \$4.50.

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Birch, A. H., *SMALL TOWN POLITICS, A STUDY OF POLITICAL LIFE IN GLOSSOP*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1959, vi+199. \$4.00.

Blewett, John, *JOHN DEWEY: HIS THOUGHT AND INFLUENCE*. New York: Fordham University Press, 1960, xiv+242. \$5.00.

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Bossard, James H. S. and Elinor Stoker Boll, *THE SOCIOLOGY OF CHILD DEVELOPMENT* (Third Edition). New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960, xiii+706. \$8.50.

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- Fournastié, Jean, *THE CAUSES OF WEALTH*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960, 246. \$5.00.
- Form, William H. and Delbert C. Miller, *INDUSTRY, LABOR AND COMMUNITY*. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960, xi+739. \$9.00.
- vanGennep, Arnold, *THE RITES OF PASSAGE*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1960, xxvi+198. \$4.50.
- Galenson, Walter and Seymour Martin Lipset, *LABOR AND TRADE UNIONISM: AN INTERDISCIPLINARY READER*. New York: John Wiley and Sons, xii+555. \$6.95.
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- Green, Arnold W., *SOCIOLOGY, AN ANALYSIS OF LIFE IN MODERN SOCIETY*, Third Edition. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1960, xiii+672. \$6.95.
- Hartman, Frederick H., *THE SWISS PRESS AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN WORLD WAR II*. Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960, 87. \$2.00.
- Hertz, Robert, *DEATH AND THE RIGHT HAND*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1960, 174. \$4.50.
- Hobsbawm, E. J., *SOCIAL BANDITS AND PRIMITIVE REBELS*. Glencoe: The Free Press, 1959, vii+208. \$5.00.
- Jennings, Eugene E., *AN ANATOMY OF LEADERSHIP*, Princes, Heroes and Supermen. New York: Harper and Brothers, 1960, xvi+256. \$3.75.
- Junker, Buford H., *FIELD WORK, AN INTRODUCTION TO THE SOCIAL SCIENCES*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960, xv+209. \$5.00.
- Kenkel, William F., *THE FAMILY IN PERSPECTIVE*. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1960, xi+490. \$6.75.
- de Laguna, Frederica, *SELECTED PAPERS FROM THE "AMERICAN ANTHROPOLOGIST," 1880-1920*. Evanston: Row, Peterson and Company, 1960, x+930. \$8.00.
- Locke, Frederick W., *THE QUEST FOR THE HOLY GRAIL*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1960, 126. \$3.50.
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- Piddington, Ralph, *AN INTRODUCTION TO SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY, Volume Two*. London: Oliver and Boyd, 1957, xvi+819. \$4.75.



## From the Editor's Desk

Eighteen years ago in Volume III, the name of Brother Gerald J. Schnepf, S.M., appeared for the first time in the pages of THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW. Since 1950 he has ably and efficiently served as its Book Review Editor. Recently Brother Schnepf has been called to Rome to assume important duties in a high position in his society. The members of the Society and all the readers of the *Review* owe him an immense debt of gratitude for his great contributions to this magazine. We only hope that we shall continue to hear from him from time to time and we wish him great success and God's blessing in his new duties.

With this issue we welcome Donald N. Barrett of the University of Notre Dame as our new Book Review Editor and earnestly request that all of our fine reviewers continue to cooperate in maintaining the high standards that have been characteristic of the journal since its inception. Just recently a well-informed individual remarked that the wide and perceptive coverage of the literature by our book reviews practically keeps a person up-to-date in all areas of research and theory in the social sciences. This has been and will continue to be possible only with the help of those competents who capsule and evaluate the latest in their diverse areas of specialization and concentration. The transfer from Brother Schnepf to Mr. Barrett should therefore be but a changing of the guard with the same blazing torch held high in the book review section of the *Review*.

Speaking of Mr. Barrett, his article analyzing and comparing penal values in Canon Law and secular social systems headlines this issue. Despite the differences that must obviously be expected it is amazing how much they correspond. The comparison not only gives us a deeper insight into both but also opens up many new avenues of research. In our second article, Brother D. Augustine McCaffrey, F.S.C. outlines a program for operating a research laboratory with undergraduate students in a small college. The report on his experience will be welcomed by others in the same situation and graduate schools may one day reap an abundant harvest of enlightened students if many others follow his example.

As Msgr. DeBlanc and others can testify almost any statement by a Catholic on the question of birth control (see *Time* July 4) is apt to be distorted by the secular news version. The paper on "Catholics and Family Planning" by Thomas J. Casey, S.J. by analyzing the many factors that are involved in even a



simple statistical sampling on this matter should warn both the scientist and the popular writer to *proceed with caution*. The *ACSR* has reported all too infrequently on scientific research on children. Dr. Goodman's experience with foreign and American children well qualifies her to show us how such investigations should be undertaken in her "Child's-Eye View of Society and Culture." And, last but not least, Austin J. Staley, O.S.B. reports on a fine piece of research on interracial marriage in Brazil. His typologies should be tested elsewhere.

SYLVESTER A. SIEBER, S.V.D.

*Editor*





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